

REMEMBERING PETER W. FLINT (1951–2016)

“To live for a time close to great minds is the best kind of education.”

John Buchan, Canada’s fifteenth Governor General

ON November 3, 2016 the field of Dead Sea Scrolls studies said farewell to one of its own. Born on January 21, 1951 in Johannesburg, South Africa, Peter W. Flint passed away at the age of sixty-five. There is indeed much to reflect and remember from Peter’s life which included three decades of research and publication on the Qumran finds. (1) At once a citizen of the ivory tower and public servant sharing the Dead Sea Scrolls with any interested in the bible, history, and theology, Peter’s work is marked by the rare quality of making the complex accessible, engaging, meaningful, and even inspiring. Peter was a prolific writer, editor, speaker, and mentor on Dead Sea Scrolls research and made a particular impact in Canadian academic culture. Since 1995 Peter was the Co-Director of the Trinity Western University Dead Sea Scrolls Institute and in 2004 was appointed to the Canada Research Chair in Dead Sea Scrolls Studies (Tier 1). All of this was done while proudly wearing a tie with Dead Sea Scrolls fragments strewn across it.

The following memorial paints Peter’s accolades and accomplishments in Qumran scholarship in broad strokes. A comprehensive bibliography of his research contributions will be included in what was to be a *Festschrift*, now memorial volume, forthcoming in 2017. (2)

(1) For another memorial including many details of Peter’s education and surviving family, see that of my colleague Martin Abegg, “In Memoriam: Peter W. Flint (1951–2016),” *Henoch* 38 (2016), forthcoming.

(2) Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk, eds. *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Textual and Reception History in Memory of Peter W. Flint*, EJL (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017). While Peter will not have

Peter's foray into the world of Qumran began when he and his family moved from South Africa to the United States so he could pursue doctoral studies under Eugene Ulrich at the University of Notre Dame. Peter's dissertation on the Qumran Psalms materials was completed in 1993, a revised version of which was published as *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill 1997). Bookending his career was another landmark publication of the biblical scrolls: the edition of the cave one Isaiah texts, edited jointly with Eugene Ulrich. (3) This volume was promptly awarded the "Best Book Relating to the Hebrew Bible (2009–2010)" by the Biblical Archaeological Society. In addition to these contributions to the books of Psalms and Isaiah at Qumran, Peter invested greatly in the publication of both biblical and parabiblical texts from Qumran in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. (4) This foundation of research contributed to the best-selling English translation written in collaboration with Martin Abegg and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (New York: Harper San Francisco, 1999).

Beyond this extensive work in publishing the primary texts, Peter's bibliography includes more than eleven edited volumes, eighty-five articles and essays, and over 100 conference papers, which attest to his ongoing work in building the collection of secondary research sources on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Arguably the most celebrated of these is the introductory textbook co-authored with James VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Harper San Francisco, 2002), which was also the recipient of the "Best Book Relating to the Hebrew Bible (2002)" award by the Biblical Archaeological Society. More recently, Peter consolidated, revised, and updated his materials on the Qumran texts and archaeology in a new introduction, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013). Because of these volumes, many past and future students will find their first invitation into the world of Qumran in Peter's writings.

the chance to see the completed collection of essays written by students and peers, near his sixty-fifth birthday the editors disclosed to him the project was in preparation.

(3) Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1.II The Isaiah Scrolls*, 2 parts, DJD 32 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2010).

(4) See: "The Psalms Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4," with Patrick W. Skehan and Eugene Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD 16 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 7–160, 163–68; "Pseudo-Daniel," with John Collins, in James VanderKam (consulting ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 95–164; and "4Q238 (Habakkuk 3 and Songs)," "5/6 Psalms," "2XHev/Se Numbers^a," and "3Hev/Se Deuteronomy," in James VanderKam and Monica Brady (consulting eds.), *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, DJD 38 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 133–66, 173–82.

Peter's perspective on the Qumran materials was also brought to bear on the work of students and peers through his numerous graduate thesis supervisions and roles on several editorial boards. In the course of his career, Peter served on the boards of Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, The Formation and Interpretation of the Old Testament Literature, The Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature.

As Qumran texts and artefacts made their way around the globe to museums and universities, Peter also regularly served as a consultant for exhibits and contributor to events, as was the case in Fort Worth, Texas (2012–2013), Kansas City, Missouri (2007), Seattle, Washington (2006–2007), Charlotte, North Carolina (2006), and Mobile, Alabama (2006).

One of Peter's last publications was on a new fragment of Micah 1:4–6 in the care of the Museum of the Bible in Washington D. C. (5) While Peter had several in-progress and forthcoming projects, this final publication is a fitting capstone to a career cut short as it captures the true spirit of Peter's academic legacy: it is marked by scholarly erudition and incisive textual analysis, involved student collaboration in the research process and publication, and focused on an artefact that is an important component of a collection geared towards the public's experience with these ancient finds.

For Peter the Dead Sea Scrolls were life-giving and indeed life-changing. Every word mattered. He would regularly remind us that many texts even held significance pointing beyond themselves, giving hope in times of loss, confusion, or adversity. At such a time when family and friends are reflecting on a rich past with Peter and, with heavy hearts, are moving ahead now with only memories of him, it seems fitting to close with a passage that was forever changed by the Qumran discoveries and was a regular item of Peter's repertoire of examples of how the words of the scrolls changed the world. Isaiah 53:11 in the "Great Isaiah Scroll" reads as follows:

"Out of the suffering of his soul *he will see light* (יראה אור), and find satisfaction. And through his knowledge his servant, the righteous one, will make many righteous, and he will bear their iniquities." (6)

Andrew B. PERRIN
Trinity Western University

(5) Peter W. Flint and David R. Herbison, "Micah 1:4–6 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003183)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection*, Emanuel Tov, Kipp Davis and Robert Duke, eds., PMOB 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 177–89.

(6) Hebrew text from Ulrich and Flint, DJD 32, 88, with accompanying English translation from, Abegg, Flint, Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 360.

A TEXTUAL HISTORY OF DEUTERONOMY 11:4A AND ITS PLACE IN TRADITIONS OF THE REED SEA / CROSSING

Summary

The discovery of the biblical scrolls at Qumran has revolutionized scholars' understanding of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible. Many textual variants that were previously attested only in the ancient translations or relatively late Jewish literary sources are now known to have been present in Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the Second Temple period. As recent studies have demonstrated, even where an *Ur*-form of a given text may be plausibly posited, this fact in no way mitigates the importance of understanding the significance of a textual "variant's" (possible) meanings and its impact upon those communities preserving the reading. The present essay addresses one such variant. Specifically, it examines the active and personified nature of the Reed Sea, as reflected in the reading of Deut 11:4 preserved in several post-biblical sources, and addresses the relationship between this textual datum and other biblical and postbiblical traditions of the Reed Sea crossing.

THE discovery of the biblical scrolls at Qumran has revolutionized scholars' understanding of the complexity of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible. Many textual variants that were previously attested only in the ancient translations (e.g., LXX) or relatively late Jewish literary sources are now known to have their origin in Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the Second Temple period; this holds true for narrative, legal, and prophetic passages of the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, awareness of this state of affairs has contributed to a significant shift in scholars' approach to the textual fluidity attested in the ancient

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witnesses to the biblical text. In contrast to many earlier text-critical studies, whose focus was primarily (and, sometimes, exclusively) the determination of an *Urtext*, scholars have recently turned their attention to understanding the processes involved in the formulation and editing of texts and the interrelationship between the written text and the scribes and communities responsible for the production of these texts, whether narrative, legal, or prophetic in nature. Recent studies have made it increasingly clear that while at some stage in hoary antiquity an “original” form of the text—whether an entire passage or individual lexemes—may well have existed, the vicissitudes surrounding the transmission of traditions—in both oral and written forms—has rendered recovery of an (hypothesized) original form a daunting, and frequently moot, endeavor. More importantly, even if an *Ur*-form may be plausibly reconstructed, this fact in no way mitigates the importance of (understanding) the later forms of that same composition as it evolved in the context of different communities and different periods. (1) The present

(1) Among the numerous studies dealing with this issue, see inter alios, Z. Talshir, “The Contribution of Diverging Traditions Preserved in the Septuagint to Literary Criticism of the Bible,” in L. Greenspoon and O. Munnich, eds., *IOSCS Congress 8* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), G.J. Brooke, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism,” in J.G. Campbell et al., eds., *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2005), 21-41, and J.G. Campbell, “Rewritten Bible: A Terminological Reassessment,” J. Zsengellér, *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years*, 49-82, H. Debel, “Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s): Exploring the Implications of a Pluriform Outlook on the Scriptural Tradition,” H. von Weissenberg, et al., eds., *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2011), 65-91, H. von Weissenberg, “Changing Scripture?: Scribal Corrections in MS 4QXII^a,” *Changes in Scripture*, pp. 247-71, J.D.H. Norton, *Contours in the Text: Textual Variation in the Writings of Paul, Josephus and the Yahad* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2011), D.M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 26-42, T. Lim, “The Qumran Scrolls, Multilingualism, and Biblical Interpretation,” J.J. Collins and R.A. Kugler, eds., *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 65, G.D. Martin, *Multiple Originals: New Approaches to Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), A.K. Petersen, “The Riverrun of Rewriting Scripture: From Textual Cannibalism to Textual Completion,” *JSJ* 43 (2012), 475-96, idem, “Textual Fidelity, Elaboration, Supersession or Encroachment? Typological Reflections on the Phenomenon of Rewritten Scripture,” J. Zsengellér, ed., *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques?* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 13-48, D.J.A. Clines, “What Remains of the Hebrew Bible? The Accuracy of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of the Qumran Samuel (4QSam),” G. Khan and D. Lipton, eds., *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 211-220, and B. Breed, *Nomadic Text: A Theory of Biblical Reception History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, 2014). For a study of this issue with emphasis on legal passages of the Pentateuch, see D.A. Teeter, *Scribal*

essay addresses a textual variant concerning the Reed Sea tradition as attested in various postbiblical sources and examines this reading against the matrix of related biblical and post-biblical motifs and the evolving text of the Hebrew Bible in the late Second Temple period.

In his lengthy peroration introducing the laws of Deuteronomy, Moses reminds the people of Israel of the providential care that accompanied them during their wilderness trek and the many miraculous events that they witnessed with their own eyes. At Deut 11:4 Moses calls upon the people to remember—

...What He (i.e., YHWH) did to Egypt's army, its horses and chariots; how the Lord rolled back upon them the waters of the Sea of Reeds *when they were pursuing you* (ברדפם אחריכם), thus destroying them once and for all... (2)

The words “ברדפם אחריכם”—referring to the Egyptians’ pursuit of Israel—appear to be quite straightforward, requiring no elaboration. This reading is also reflected in LXX, the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), most of the textual witnesses from Qumran, and Peshitta. At the same time, Kennicott (9.69) attests a different *Vorlage*, viz., “when they (i.e., the waters) were pursuing *them* (ברדפם אחריהם)”. (3) On this reading, 11:4 refers to the (Reed Sea) *waters’* pursuit of the Egyptians. Significantly, this reading is reflected in some manuscripts of *Tg. Onq.* (4) Moreover, this textual form may also be attested in Qumran phylactery exemplar, 4QPhyl^k, though the text’s condition renders the reading proposed by its editor less than certain. (5) Of course, as with other textual variants in the ancient textual witnesses—and, in particular, the phylacteries uncovered at Qumran—the question arises as to whether this reading is a “genuine” (even if secondary) one or, rather, is the result of error, perhaps due to the fact that phylacteries and, indeed, larger literary tracts, as well, may frequently have been written from memory. (6) More generally, it is entirely possible that

Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

(2) Translations of biblical passages follow NJPS (1985).

(3) See *BHS*³, ad loc.

(4) *Ibid*; see, further, the discussion of *Tg. Onq.*, below (n. 32).

(5) See J.T. Milik, ed., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VI, Qumran Grotte 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 68; Milik does not comment on this variant. See further, below, n. 41 and n. 42, below

(6) On the role of memory and other factors in the ancient world, see, especially, Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* and the collection of articles in B.B. Schmidt, ed., *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), especially sections two and

the variant shared by Kennicott, et al., is simply the result of scribal error, triggered by the similarity obtaining between “אֲחֵרֵיכֶם” and “אֲחֵרֵיהֶם”. Yet, as will emerge in the ensuing discussion of this and related traditions, this supposition, even if correct, need not undermine the literary “validity” (presumably) acquired by this version among those circles that adopted it; moreover, even circles and tradents not explicitly attesting familiarity with this textual datum may have preserved various traditions that reflect a similar portrayal of the Reed Sea’s role in combatting the Egyptians.

Personification of the “Sea” (Reed Sea or otherwise) makes its appearance in the Hebrew Bible in various contexts and is even more broadly attested in rabbinic sources. Some biblical passages, e.g., Ps 114:3-5, describes the Sea as “fleeing”—presumably, upon “seeing” the presence of the deity. (7) Ps 74:12-15 depicts the slaughter of the sea (i.e., sea dragon). In several passages the deity is said to “rebuke” or, possibly, “roar [at]” (root, נָעַר) the sea, which (or, who[?]) then submits to the awesome power and majesty of the deity. (8) The

three. For discussion of excerpted texts and their place in the textual transmission of the Hebrew Bible, see, inter alios, S. White Crawford, “4QD¹: Biblical Text or Excerpted Manuscript?,” H.W. Attridge, et al., eds., *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 15-16, L. Doering, “Excerpted Texts in Second Temple Judaism: A Survey of the Evidence,” R.M. Piccione and M. Perkams, eds., *Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Komplilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus* (Alessandria: Edizione dell’Orso, 2005), 1-38, especially 20-28, and B.A. Strawn, “Excerpted Manuscripts at Qumran: Their Significance for the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible and the Socio-Religious History of the Qumran Community and its Literature,” J.C. Charlesworth, ed., *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Scripture and the Scrolls* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), vol. 2, 107-67, especially, 118-20. See below, n. 41.

(7) For discussion of this motif and parallels in the ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible, see F.L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101-150* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 195-7. Rabbinic sources posit various possibilities as to the object of the sea’s “seeing”.

(8) See, for example, Ps 18:16 (= 2 Sam 22:16), Nah 1:3-6, Ps 104:7, Ps 106:9, all of which attribute the verb נָעַר in connection with the deity’s treatment of the sea and the primal depths; see, also, *T. Moses* 10:6. J. Day has cited numerous instances of this root in other Semitic languages, all of which indicate that the root bears involves some form of noise, i.e., “roar,” “bellow,” or “neigh” (*God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1985], 29-30). While P.C. Craigie (“The Comparison of Hebrew Poetry: Psalm 104 in the Light of Egyptian and Ugaritic Poetry,” *Semitics* 4 [1974], 10-21) argued that the Ugaritic evidence was too limited and ambiguous to sustain Day’s claim, the similar semantic usage attested in Syriac and Ge’ez, admittedly of relatively late provenance, suggests that Day’s understanding of the Hebrew lexeme is certainly tenable. Although it is unclear how substantive a difference exists between

precise meaning of this root, in particular, has been the subject of much debate, and bears implications for assessing the extent of personification of the sea. Different imagery is employed at Job 7:12, which reflects the belief that the deity imprisons the sea dragon (9). While many more instances of personification of the sea, in both biblical sources, could be cited, it suffices for present purposes to note that the personification of the (Reed) Sea is amply attested in throughout the Hebrew Bible. (10)

At the same time, it must be borne in mind that biblical passages involving personification of the sea (or the sea dragon) generally depict it as a source, or symbol, of the forces of chaos that have been (or will be) vanquished by YHWH; (11) the motif of the Reed Sea—or any sea—*actively* assisting and/or defending the Israelites is virtually

the view of Day and Craigie (et. al.), it must be acknowledged that rendering “rebuke” *may* plausibly be taken to imply that the deity encountered initial *opposition* on the part of Sea, which, subsequently, conceded to the deity’s show of strength. (The same may be said regarding the translation of Hossfeld and Zenger [*Psalms* 3, 80], who render the term גַּעַר at Ps 106:9 “threatened”). Other interpretations (of the nominal form) have been proposed by J.M. Kennedy, “The Root *g’r* in the Light of Semantic Analysis,” *JBL* 106 (1987), 47–64, who renders the lexeme “[your] blast” and A.R. Gray, who understands the nominal form preserved at Ps 18:16 to mean “battle-cry” (*Psalms 18 in Words and Pictures; A Reading through Metaphor* [Leiden: Brill, 2014], 100, 104–5). Whatever the final verdict regarding the semantic freight of “גַּעַר” in the biblical passages cited above, rabbinic usage (in connection the sea and elsewhere) suggests the meaning “rebuke (or, perhaps, threaten)”; see, e.g., *b. Hag.* 12a, *b. Yoma* 39b. Additional examples of the defeat of the sea appear at Ps 46:4–5, 65:7–14; 89:10–15.

(9) See also, the later (apocryphal) *Prayer of Manasseh* (3), wherein the deity binds/shackles the sea.

(10) For discussion of the term “סִיָּה (ים)” and its ramifications for the classification (and dating) of the Exod 15, see M. Vervenne, “The Lexeme סִיָּה (SÛPH) and the Phrase יָם סִיָּה (YAM SÛPH),” K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors, eds., *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 403–29. For a broader review and analysis of the Reed Sea Narrative, see J.C. Gertz, “The Miracle at the Sea: Remarks on the Recent Discussion about Origin and Composition of the Exodus Narrative,” T. Dozeman, et al., eds., *The Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 91–120; for the song as a critique of Canaanite society and its religious and mythic symbols, see M. Leuchter, “Eisodus as Exodus: The Song of the Sea Reconsidered,” *Biblica* 92 (2013), 321–46.

(11) Of course this type of personification of the Reed Sea is not limited to biblical and Second Temple sources. Numerous rabbinic sources develop and amplify the cognitive and sentient capacity of the Sea (generally). Thus, rabbinic sources attest, inter alia, descriptions of the confrontation between God and the sea—wherein the latter initially refuses to be parted—the dispute between the sea and the dry land regarding the final resting place of the Egyptian corpses following their drowning; see J. Heinemann, *Aggadah and its Development* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), 92, 182–83 (Hebrew). Note, also, the personification of the sea via reference to its heavenly “prince” (i.e., patron; see *b. Bab. Bat.* 5a).

non-existent in biblical sources. (12) The reading, “אֲחֲרֵיהֶם,” at Deut 11:4 thus stands out as a rare instance of the sea’s role in assisting Israel. To be sure, this reading need not be seen as entailing full-blown personification of the sea; (13) the scribe(s) responsible for this reading may have understood the verse to mean that the sea waters, when crashing down on the Egyptians, *appeared to be* in pursuit of them. (14) Nonetheless, this reading clearly attributes to the Reed Sea a much more active role than that suggested by the reading of MT, LXX, et al.

Significantly, a related motif is found in the Second Temple composition, *Wisdom of Solomon*, wherein personified creation actively participates in the defense of Israel, and the destruction of the wicked, at various stages of its national history, a motif examined by, inter alios, J.P.M. Sweet and Michael Kolarcik. (15) The significance of

(12) Note, also, the view of those scholars who have argued that the biblical narrative of the splitting of the Reed Sea is an Israelite (re)formulation of the “combat myth” attested already in Ugaritic epic poetry; see F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of Israelite Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), and C.J.L. Kloos, *Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Israel* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), especially 70-93. Studies comparing the biblical narrative with similar motifs in classical sources include D. Nof and N. Paldor, “Are There Oceanographic Explanations of the Israelites’ Crossing of the Red Sea?,” in *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society* 73 (1992), 305-314, and S. Segert, “Crossing the Waters: Moses and Hamilcar,” *JNES* 53 (1994), 195-203. For recent discussion of an entirely different approach to the combat myth and its ramifications in ancient Israel, see N. Ayali-Darshan, “The Question of the Order of Job 26:7-13 and the Cosmogonic Tradition of Zaphon,” *ZAW* 126 (2014), 402-16.

(13) Indeed, the fact that 4QPhyl^k preserves harmonistic features (e.g., the expanded form of Deut 11:5) raises an interesting question, to wit: if this exemplar does, indeed, attest to the reading “אֲחֲרֵיהֶם,” did the scribes/circles employing this version of Deut 11:4 view it as contradicting the Reed Sea narrative in Exodus? (See the discussion below, regarding Hizquni’s explanation of the nexus obtaining between Deut 11:4 and Exod 15:8.) It is certainly conceivable, after all, that these scribes/circles understood Exod 15:8 (or, perhaps, Exod 14:27) along the lines proposed by Hizquni, et al. Unfortunately, a definitive position on the matter is not possible at this juncture. Nonetheless, two points ought be borne in mind. First, harmonistic texts do not generally aim at resolving all (perceived) inconsistencies; harmonization reflects a scribal tendency, rather than a systematic reworking. More fundamentally, it has been observed that seemingly “harmonistic” features, such as those of pre-Samaritan texts, ought not be viewed as informed primarily by the (purported) need for textual harmonization and consistency; see M. Segal, “The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *MG* 12 (2007), 5-20, esp. 17.

(14) The miraculous nature of the sea crossing and personification of the Reed Sea represent one end of the exegetical-historical spectrum attested in Jewish sources of antiquity. The other end of the spectrum is represented by the Hellenistic historian, Artapanus, who offered a rationalistic explanation of the biblical episode; see Segert, “Crossing,” 198.

(15) See S. Cheon, *The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon: A Study in Biblical Interpretation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 89-100, and

this shared motif is enhanced by the ample number of traditions pertaining to the Israelites' crossing of the Red Sea shared by *Wisdom of Solomon* and rabbinic literature. (16) While *Wisdom of Solomon* does not attest the tradition of the Reed Sea actively and purposively pursuing the Egyptians in the manner discussed above, its positive depiction of nature's role in assisting the people of Israel may indicate that the personification of the sea in rabbinic and medieval sources to be discussed below—and, possibly, in 4QPhyl^k—is neither the result of scribal error nor the *de novo* creation of rabbinic and medieval tradents (or, possibly, the scribe responsible for 4QPhyl^k) but, rather, reflects the influence of the expanding and developing motif of the sea—and nature generally—fighting on behalf of the righteous. Indeed, it would not be surprising were additional evidence of such a position among Second Temple circles to emerge. (17)

J.R. Dodson, *The Powers of 'Personification': Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of Wisdom and the Letter to the Romans* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 71-80. For discussion of the motif of Creation/nature defending and assisting the righteous against the onslaught of the wicked in other Hellenistic sources, see J.P.M. Sweet, "The Theory of Miracles in the Book of Wisdom," C.F.D. Moule, ed., *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History* (London: Mowbrays, 1965), 119-20 and D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), 149, and M. Kolarcik, "Creation and Salvation in the Book of Wisdom," R.J. Clifford and J.J. Collins, eds., *Creation in the Biblical Traditions* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America 1992), 97-107. Of particular interest is Kolarcik's observation that the apocalyptic depiction of wisdom battling against injustice is based on *Wisdom's* formulation (11-19) of the Exodus narrative, which, itself, is a new creation, intended to judge the Egyptians and save the Israelites. Note, also, the rabbinic depiction of the argument between the sea and the earth, wherein both refuse to accept the bodies of the dead Egyptians until, in the end, the deity intervenes (see J. Heinemann, *Aggadah and its Development*, 182-83. For broader, and more recent, discussion of the earth in personified terms, see T. Stordalen, "Mother Earth in Biblical Hebrew Literature: Ancient and Contemporary Imagination," J. Middlemas, et al., eds., *The Centre and the Periphery: A European Tribute to Walter A. Brueggemann, Part Two* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010), 113-30.

(16) See, inter alios, P. Enns, *Exodus Retold: Ancient Exegesis of the Departure from Egypt in Wis 10:15-21 and 19:1-9* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), J.J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *History of Religions* 17 (1977), 121-42, and A.M. Sinnott, "Wisdom as Saviour," *ABR* 52 (2004), 19-31.

(17) Indeed, it ought be borne in mind that the reading "אֶחָדָם" is preserved in what is considered to be a "Qumran-type" phylactery exemplar, i.e., one employing the passages Deut 5:1-6:3 and Deut 10:13-11:-12 in addition to those found in rabbinic phylacteries. The presence of a motif shared by rabbinic sources and a Qumran-type phylactery is, of course, significant and exemplifies the existence of shared exegetical (mythopoeic?) traditions in late Second Temple and post-Second Temple circles. The importance of this datum notwithstanding, it bears noting that the textual features of biblical texts circulating among proto-rabbinic circles remains unknown, such that this datum may, ultimately, prove not altogether surprising. For discussion of this issue and

Whatever the nature of the relationship between the formulations of *Wisdom of Solomon* and the reading “אחריהם,” there is no compelling reason to reject the “validity” of this variant. (18) Indeed, the personification of the sea reflected in this reading of Deut 11:4 is entirely consonant with the nature of its broader context. The following verse, Deut 11:5, refers to the earth opening its mouth (“אשר פיה ותבלעם ואת בתיהם ואת כל היקום”) and swallowing the followers of Dathan and Abiram and their households (“אשר ברגליהם”). (19) Thus, there is no reason to suppose that an ancient reader encountering the formulation “אחריהם” on his first reading of Deut 11 would suspect the presence of any sort of literary “aberration” or infelicity. In short, viewed against the backdrop of the Hebrew Bible, as well as postbiblical literary sources, the reading “אחריהם” at Deut 11:4 ought hardly occasion surprise.

Personification of the Reed Sea in rabbinic and medieval interpretations of Exod 15:8

Pentateuchal sources attest one additional passage that, in the view of some rabbinic and medieval tradents—and contemporary scholars, as well—depicts the Reed Sea’s active and willing participation in pursuing—or, at least, entrapping—the Egyptian forces, to wit, Exod 15:8. Owing to the range of views proffered in connection with this verse, and their bearing on the (possible) inner-biblical nexus obtaining between this verse and Deut 11:4, it will prove helpful to briefly address the key issues bearing on the present discussion. Exod 15:8 reads:

the broader matrix of scribal practice at Qumran, see E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* [Leiden: Brill, 2004], and the critique of E.J.C. Tigchelaar, “Assessing Emanuel Tov’s ‘Qumran Scribal Practice,’” S. Metso, et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 173-207. For discussion of the technical features employed in the phylacteries (and mezuzot) and their relationship to the biblical passages employed in rabbinic-type phylacteries, see D. Rothstein, “From Bible to Murabba‘at” *Studies in the Literary, Textual, and Scribal Features of Phylacteries and Mezuzot in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism*” (Los Angeles: UCLA [doctoral dissertation], 1992), 428-63, and Y. Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World* (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2008), 33-46; 93-102.

(18) See Dozeman, *Exodus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 323-4. Note, further, that C.A. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark/New York: Scribner, 1969), 349, postulated that the lexeme “נצר” was not employed in the narrative sources informing (his understanding of) Ps 106:9, precisely because of the mythological implications of the Hebrew root.

(19) For expansive and/or harmonistic versions of this verse among the Qumran textual exemplars (and SP), see E. Eshel, “4QDeut: A Text That has Undergone Harmonistic Editing,” *HUCA* 62 (1991), 117-54.

וברוח אפיך נערמו מים נצבו כמו נד נוזלים...

("At the blast of your nostrils the waters *piled up*;
the floods stood still like a wall [NJPS])

The core issue in connection with this verse concerns the meaning of the lexeme "נערמו". The meaning of this lexeme has long been debated by students of the Hebrew Bible. *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, a composition generally dated to the second century CE, *Šira* (6), preserves two explanations of the lexeme נערמו. (20) One view, parsing the lexeme as reflecting the meaning of the nominal form "ערמה/ערמות," understands the verse to mean that the waters were piled up (ערמות [lit., "piles and piles"]). On a second view, the waters' action was viewed as a talionic response to the cruelty and craftiness that the Egyptians had displayed towards the Israelites. Just as the Egyptians had acted craftily in their attempt to subjugate and enslave the Israelites ("הבה נתחכמה לו") [Exod 1:10]), so the waters of the Reed Sea were given craftiness so as to enable them to do battle with the Egyptians and inflict all forms of suffering upon them ("אף אתה נתת ערמה" [lit., "you too gave craftiness"]). (21) While many medieval exegetes adopted the former position, (22) this latter interpretation is reflected in *Tg. Onq.*'s rendering, "[ובמימר פומך] חכימו מיא" and was adopted by several medieval exegetes, among them Hezekiah b. Manoah (aka, Hizquni) and Bahya b. Asher. (23) Other medieval savants, however, adopted a third interpretation of the lexeme "נערמו," according to which the Sea was imbued with wisdom, rather than craftiness, thereby enabling it to join Israel in singing the deity's praise following

(20) See H.S. Horovitz, ed., *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Ismael* (Jerusalem: Warman Books, 1970 [reprint]), 137.

(21) The *niph'al* form—and, more generally, verbal usage—of 'rm II/this root (bearing the meaning to be cunning/crafty) appears nowhere else in the biblical corpus. As for the *hiph'il*, there are instances in which the *hiph'il* form of this root takes a direct object—e.g., "counsel" (Ps. 83:4), such that the possibility of a more tangible semantic unpacking (i.e., "piling up counsel, plans") may reflect a the historical development of this root. Of course, MT preserves instances of the *hiph'il* with no direct object; see 1Sam 23:22 (defective orthography, pointed by the masoretes as *hiph'il*) and Job 15:5 (which appears in some manuscripts with *plene* orthography and, in other manuscripts, with defective orthography). At the same time, the *niph'al* form of this root bearing the meaning "pile (up)" is similarly unattested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. As for Rabbinic Hebrew, it is noteworthy that, it attests many instances of the *hiph'il* but no usage of the *niph'al* form is attested. See, further, E. Ben-Yehudah, *Dictionary and Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1960 [reprint]), vol. 6, 4734-25, and G.J. Botterweck, et al., eds., *TDOT*, vol. 11 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 361-65.

(22) See, inter alios, Rashi, ibn Ezra, Samuel b. Meir (RaŠBam).

(23) This is also the position of other medieval exegetes, e.g., Tobiah b. Eliezer (*Leqah Tov*, ad loc.) and Bahya b. Asher.

his intervention on behalf. (24) While seemingly stretching credulity to its limits, this last position does find parallel notions in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Isa 55:12, Ps 69:34, 96:12, 148:9), wherein the mountains and other physical or topographic features are said to sing the deity's praise. At the same time, and not without philological basis, (25) the notion that Reed Sea joined in praise of the deity lacks any contextual support. This notwithstanding, this understanding of the Reed Sea's role conveys a truly heightened form of personification of Reed Sea.

Among recent commentators to Exodus, W.H.C. Propp acknowledges the viability of both views cited in *MdRY Šira* (with no mention of the third medieval position), while proffering yet another possibility, viz., "the sea bottom was *stripped* [italics in original] of its water," a piquant suggestion, but one not without its own difficulties. (26) On the other hand, a different position was espoused by T.B. Dozeman. In reviewing the interpretations of "נַעֲרָמוּ," Dozeman has made the trenchant observation that while the interpretation of *MdRY*, Hizquni, et al. (wherein the sea acts craftily) is plausible on philological grounds, it does not allow for a cogent reading of 15:8, itself. Specifically, 15:8 reads, on the view of *MdRY*, Hizquni, et al., "And at the blast of your nostrils the waters became wise/crafty...". As noted by Dozeman, the juxtaposition of the divine blast of wind with the phrase "נַעֲרָמוּ מִים" suggests that "the action of the waters is a result of God's blowing on it". (27) Since no apparent connection exists between the blast of divine air and the waters' acquisition of craftiness, Dozeman adopts, not surprisingly, the view of most modern translations, (28) to wit, "[the waters] were piled up". (29)

(24) See, inter alios, the tosafist exegetical composition, *הדר וקנים* (ad loc.), and J. Gellis, *Sefer Tosafot HaShalem* (Jerusalem: Mifal Tosafot HaShalem, 1982), vol. 7, 226-27, and the notes, thereto, concerning the earlier sources informing this position.

(25) Numerous attestations of the root "נַעֲרָמוּ" bearing the sense of "wisdom, prudence"—rather than craftiness or guile—appear in wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible and writings of Qumran provenance; see Botterweck, *TDOT*, 361-62, and 365-65.

(26) See *Exodus 1-18*, AB 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 521. While Job 26:6 speaks of Sheol as being laid bare, Propp's proposal is, in the end, no more compelling than the competing interpretations, inasmuch as it entails positing the sea bottom, rather than the water, as the subject of the clause.

(27) *Exodus*, 324.

(28) Thus, e.g., NJPS, RSV, NJB (Biblia Católica Online). LXX renders the lexeme "separated/parted (διέσκη)" . While this reading parallels that of Exod 14:22, it is unclear whether it is the result of harmonization alone (either on the part of the translators or the scribes responsible for their *Vorlage*) or, rather, (also) informed by the translators' difficulty in rendering this *hapax legomenon*.

(29) *Exodus*, 324. Though not addressed by Dozeman, this same objection may be raised in connection with those maintaining that "נַעֲרָמוּ" refers to the Reed's Sea newly acquired penchant for chanting divine praise.

The significance of Dozeman's observation notwithstanding—and in contrast to most modern translations of Exod 15:8—many medievals, as noted, adopted the position of *MdRY* according to which the sea was infused with craftiness, thus allowing them to actively participate in entrapping—and, perhaps, pursuing—Pharaoh's forces. (Indeed, it bears noting that, to the best of my knowledge, no medieval source addresses the issue raised by Dozeman. (30)) While the position of *MdRY*, *Tg. Onq.*, et al., is notably similar to Kennicott's variant reading of Deut 11:4, there remains a slight difference between the two verses: Exod 15:8-10, on this reading, depicts the sea as luring and entrapping the Egyptians but, contra Kennicott (and, possibly, 4QPhyl^k), it makes no explicit reference to the sea "pursuing" the Egyptians. To be sure, *MdRY*'s formulation—"והיו המים גלחמים בהם בכל מיני פורעניות"—while not employing the term "pursue," clearly presumes a state of affairs fundamentally similar to that conveyed by the Kennicott variant; indeed, *MdRY*'s personification of the sea and its pursuit of the Egyptians, while clearly reflecting the motif of the pursuing sea attested in Kennicott, is decidedly more explicit, and detailed, than that reflected in the reading "אחריהם". Nonetheless, despite the attestation of rabbinic and post-rabbinic sources attesting the understanding of Exod 15:8 as involving personification of the Reed Sea, neither *MdRY* nor any other related source—with one notable exception to be discussed presently—makes reference to Deut 11:4 as evidence for the sea's active role in drowning the Egyptians. This somewhat surprising dearth of reference to Deut 11:4 is reflected most succinctly in the observation of Yedidiah Norzi, the author of the Renaissance period text-critical work, *Minhat Shai*, who acknowledged the (minority) reading "אחריהם" at Deut 11:4, while expressing amazement at the absence of midrashic passages alluding to this variant, despite the glaring similarity with regard to the depiction of the Reed Sea. (31)

(30) To be sure, some later savants did, indeed, proffer explanations of the difficulty noted by Dozeman. See the commentary of R. Elijah b. Solomon of Vilna (Vilnius) *Aderet Eliyahu* (ad Exod 15:8). I hope to address this and related issues elsewhere.

(31) Strikingly, Norzi goes on to comment that while various rabbinic sources express exegetical motifs similar to that entailed by the reading preserved in the Kennicott manuscripts, none of these sources demands adoption of this textual variant, per se. See Z. Betser, ed., *Minhat Shay on the Torah* (Jerusalem: 2005), ad loc. Given the fact that the difference between "אחריהם" and "אחריכם" is a relatively minor one, both graphically and phonetically, it is tempting to wonder whether the reading of 4QPhyl^k might not be the result—or, reflective—of the textual actualization of the technique "‘*al tigre*," wherein similarly sounding and/spelled lexemes replace—or, serve as the oral realization of—an existing form of the biblical text. Norzi, however, does not suggest as much. For recent analysis of Norsi's methodology, see Y. Ofer,

Despite the dearth of rabbinic and medieval references or allusions to Deut 11:4 and its possible bearing on Exod 15:8, there is one medieval source that does, indeed, view Deut 11:4 and Exod 15:8 as attesting the same portrayal of the Reed Sea. This source is none other than the pentateuchal commentary of Hezekiah b. Manoah (“Hizquni”). Indeed, though dismissed by some with the laconic observation of its attestation in some Kennicott and targumic manuscripts, (32) the variant reading of 4QPhyl^k appears to have been known to, and accepted by, this medieval savant. In his commentary to Deut 11:4, Hizquni writes: (33)

...אשר הצף...ברדפם אחריהם, ברדוף המים אחרי המצרים, והיינו דכתיב: נערמו מים, שתרנם אונקלוס: חכימו מיא, שחכמו והערימו לעשות רצון בוראם לרדוף אחרי המצרים

Hizquni argues herein that the reading “אחריהם” at Deut 11:4 indicates that the Egyptians had been pursued by the Reed Sea waters—as reflected in Kennicott, et al.—and observes, further, that this notion is consistent with the meaning of Exod 15:8, as rendered in *Tg. Onq.* (ad loc.). Thus, on Hizquni’s view, Exod 15:8 and Deut 11:4 express the same tradition, one wherein the waters of the Reed Sea were engaged in *purposive* pursuit of the Egyptians. (34) Before proceeding, it is necessary to clarify an issue concerning Hizquni’s understanding of the text of Deut 11:4.

“Methods and Sources of Yedidya Shelomo Norzi in his Treatise *Minhat Shay*,” *Textus* 24 (2009), 287-312. For discussion of “אל תקרי,” and the history of the biblical text, see J. Joosten, “‘Al Tiqrē as a Hermeneutical Device and the Septuagint,” W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 377-90.

(32) See, e.g., the comment of E.G. Clarke: “MS incorrectly ‘them,’ as also some MSS of Onq” (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Deuteronomy*, The Aramaic Bible, vol. 5B [Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1998], 35, n. 6); see, also, B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy*, The Aramaic Bible, vol. 9 (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1988), 44, note b. As emerges from the present discussion, it is possible that these targumic manuscripts reflect not error on the part of their scribes—though confusion of the 2nd person and (pl.) and 3rd person (pl.) pronominal suffixes is amply attested in targumic manuscripts—but, rather, the existence of a “genuine” Hebrew *Vorlage*.

(33) חזקוני: פירושי התורה לרבינו חזקיה ב”ר מנחם (33) Mossad Harav Kook, 1981), 544. For recent discussion of this edition in light of the various mss, see G. Prebor, “The Text of the Hizkuni Commentary to the Pentateuch and Chavell’s Edition,” *Quntres: An Online Journal for Culture, History and Art of the Jewish Book*, 3 (2012), 13-33 (Hebrew).

(34) See B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Exodus*, The Aramaic Bible, vol. 7 (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1988), 43, n. 17.

In the most recent edition of his commentary to the Pentateuch, Hizquni's position is explained by its editor on the assumption that the textual base that lay before Hizquni was that of MT's, "[ברדפם] אחריכם," rather than that attested in Kennicott and, possibly, 4QPhyl^k. Some earlier scholars, as well as the editor of the standard edition of Hizquni's commentary, argued that Hizquni understood the suffix of "ברדפם" to reflect the object genitive/object pronoun. Now, a straightforward reading of Hizquni indicates that he understood the pronominal suffix in "ברדפם" to be a subject pronoun—yielding the translation "in/ during their (i.e., the waters') pursuit [after the Egyptians]". The editor of the standard edition, by contrast, averred that Hizquni understood "ברדפם" as consisting of the absolute infinitive (רדפ) + object noun (35)—thus, "in the (i.e., the waters') pursuit of them (i.e., after the Egyptians)"—and that the masoretic "אחריכם" is to be parsed as the adverbial modifier of time. i.e., "after you (the Israelites) had entered the sea". The upshot is that the waters "knew" precisely *when* to pursue the Egyptians, viz., "אחריכם," *after* the successful crossing of (i.e., behind)—*you*, the Israelites. (36) Clearly, this is not the straightforward meaning of Hizquni's formulation. (37) Indeed, the forced nature of this explanation of Hizquni's comment is evident in the resulting syntactic contortion of Deut 11:4, wherein the lexeme "אחריכם" appears to dangle with no clear syntactic connection to the preceding words. Moreover, this understanding of Hizquni flies in the face of Hizquni's formulation, which reads: "ברדפם אחריהם, ברדוף המים אחרי המצרים". The lemma "ברדפם אחריהם" clearly indicates that Hizquni is commenting herein on the clause, "ברדפם אחריהם"; had he intended to address only the parsing of the word "ברדפם" he would have cited only that lexeme. In addition, Hizquni's formulation concludes with the words "ברדוף המים אחרי המצרים"; there is no allusion herein to the location of the Egyptians in relation to (i.e., entering the sea after) the Israelites or the timing of the Egyptians' entry into the sea. (38) Given

(35) This interpretation of "ברדפם" is, to be sure, semantically plausible but enjoys no attestation in the Hebrew Bible. The nominal verb of the root רדפ (*qutl* form) + (possessive) pronoun appears in only one other biblical passage, Amos 1:11 (על-רדפו בחרב אחיו), where it clearly consists of the *qutl* + subject pronoun, and means "his pursuit of/after his brother".

(36) See Ch. Chavel, *פירושי התורה*: חזקוני (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1981), 233, n. 86, who adopts this explanation.

(37) To be sure, it is possible to maintain the reading "אחריכם" while proffering Tg. Onq.'s understanding (and that of Hizquni) of Exod 15:8; indeed, this may well be the position of Bahya b. Asher and Norzi, who shared Hizquni's understanding of Exod 15:8.

(38) Similarly, this explanation does not comport with Hizquni's opening remarks at Exod 15:8, where he comments, "חכמו לנער מצרים" (=פירוש) "חכמו מיא פי".

the explicit evidence afforded by Kennicott 9.69 and targumic manuscripts there can be little doubt that Hizquni's position was informed by a textual tradition whose antecedents stretch back (at the least) to the late Second Temple period. Finally, had Hizquni's text of Deut 11:4 read "אחריכם [ברדפם]," the identity of the subject and object of the pursuit would have been, at most, ambiguous. Thus, whether this reading refers to the Egyptians pursuit of the Israelites or to the water's pursuit of the Egyptians, it would have presented no contradiction to the formulation of Exod 15:8 (or any other passage in Exodus)—since there is no doubt that the narrative of Exodus 13-15 depicts the Egyptians' pursuit of the Israelites; accordingly, there is no reason to believe that this reading would have elicited any comment from Hizquni. Clearly, what prompted Hizquni's remarks to Deut 11:4 is the fact that, as formulated in Kennicott, et al., this verse states that the waters actively pursued the Egyptians, a position not clearly stated in Exod 15; it is this state of affairs that Hizquni sought to resolve by explaining that the claim that the waters (actively) pursued the Egyptians, is, indeed, consonant with the events as formulated in Exod 15:8. (39)

Finally, it bears mention that while the printed edition of Hizquni's comment to Exod 15:8 employs the form "אחריכם" in its citation of Deut 11:4, the editor of the Hizquni's commentary acknowledges that the manuscript of Hizquni's commentary to Exod 15:8 preserves the form "אחריהם," an erroneous reading, in the editor's opinion, which was "corrected" by a later copyist. (40) Clearly, that the manuscript should originally (and correctly) preserve the form "אחריהם" need hardly occasion surprise since, as noted above, the existence of this reading was explicitly acknowledged by Norzi.

The precise nature of the textual base that lay before Hizquni notwithstanding, both the straightforward reading of his comments as proposed herein and that proffered by the commentary's editor yield the same *exegetical* result, to wit, Deut 11:4 (as understood by Hizquni) references the Sea's pursuit of the Egyptians. Thus, Hizquni's comments—on any interpretation thereof—convey the very understanding reflected in Kennicott's variant reading of Deut 11:4 and point to the

Here, too, Hizquni makes no mention of the fact that the crashing of the pillars of water took place *behind* the Israelites procession through the sea.

(39) Indeed, Hizquni's remarks are reminiscent of the tendency of many Second Temple "harmonistic" and/or "expansive" texts that sought to reconcile such infelicities, in particular those stemming from differences between Deuteronomy's and its sources.

(40) See Chavel's comments, *ad loc.*

existence of a Reed Sea tradition shared by Exod 15:8 and Deut 11:4. As discussed above, *MdRY Šira* leaves no room for doubt regarding the active and willing participation of the Reed Sea in combating the Egyptian forces, in a manner more vivid than that reflected in the variant “אחריהם” alone. Yet, as noted, neither *MdRy* nor any other source reflecting *MdRY*’s position, suggests any sort of nexus between Exod 15:8-10 and Deut 11:4. This observation was left to Hizquni; it is he, alone, among medieval savants, who attests familiarity with the reading “אחריהם” and proposes a literary linkage between Exod 15:8 and Deut 11:4, maintaining that the latter echoes—and substantiates his understanding of—the former. (41)

Conclusion

The reading “אחריהם” at Deut 11:4a preserved in various sources, along with its literary *nachleben* traced in the preceding discussion, constitutes a parade example of the longevity of a textual variant attested in disparate sources over the course of many centuries; moreover, it is a parade example of the fact that readings that appear, *prima facie*, to be nothing more than the result of scribal error, may, in point of fact, prove to be a (literarily and contextually) *bona fide* textual form and, indeed, find (indirect) expression in exegetical sources of late antiquity and the medieval period. Indeed, recent investigations of scribal activity in Second Temple circles and the interplay between exegesis and scribal activity (or, “intervention”) and the written documents in ancient Israel and early Judaism leave no room for doubt that any facile attempt to dismiss out of hand seemingly “errant” or “implausible” textual variants must be avoided. (42) While it may, in

(41) It is apposite at this juncture to note that the reading, “אחריהם,” if, indeed, preserved in 4QPhyl^k, appears in what is considered to be a “Qumran-type” phylactery exemplar, i.e., one employing the passages Deut 5:1-6:3 and Deut 10:13-11:-12, in addition to those found in rabbinic phylacteries. The (possible) presence of a motif shared by rabbinic sources and a Qumran-type phylactery (and one employing a textual base different from that of MT) is, of course, noteworthy and exemplifies the existence of shared exegetical (mythopoeic?) traditions in late Second Temple and late antique circles. Of course, it must be borne in mind that the textual features of biblical texts circulating among proto-rabbinic circles remains unknown, such that this datum may, ultimately, prove less than altogether surprising. The implications of this phenomenon, not addressed in Ulrich’s recent important study (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* [Leiden: Brill, 2015]), warrant a separate study and would constitute an important complement to the studies of White Crawford, Doering, et al., cited above (n. 6) in connection with excerpted texts.

(42) See, inter alios, H. Debel, “Rewritten Bible,” von Weissenberg, “Changing Scripture?,” Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, Petersen, “The Riverrun of Rewriting

fact, be the case that MT's reading of Deut 11:4 is of greater antiquity and is, arguably, more "palatable" to the modern reader, there is no compelling reason why the reading "אֶחָרִיִּים" ought not be viewed as a viable textual alternative. Accordingly, it is entirely conceivable that this textual variant is a genuine indicator of the fact that at some relatively early stage of its transmission Deut 11:4 was understood as expressing the view that the Reed Sea actively—and, perhaps, purposefully—participated in the drowning of Pharaoh's forces. (43)

This state of affairs begs the question as to the nature of the relationship obtaining between the reading "אֶחָרִיִּים" and (the understanding of) Exod 15:8 attested in *MdRY*, *Tg. Onq.*, Hizquni, et al. It is possible that this variant reading of Deut 11:4 served as the catalyst for the rabbinic and medieval traditions depicting the Reed Sea as (enticing and) pursuing—and even inflicting various forms of punishment upon—the Egyptian forces. At the same time, given the symbiotic relationship between scribal intervention and the "pliable" nature of the text of the Hebrew Bible in the late Second Temple period, the reverse scenario of textual development also warrants consideration, to wit, the possibility that the understanding of Exod 15:8 as referring to the Reed Sea's cunning antedates the medieval attestations of this reading—as well as its possible attestation in 4QPhyl^k—and, in fact, informed subsequent (re)formulations of Deut 11:4. Of course, these textual/exegetical scenarios obtain only if one maintains, along with Dozeman, that Exod 15:8 cannot be understood as involving personification of the Sea and/or if one views the reading "אֶחָרִיִּים" as undeniably later than, and secondary to, MT's reading. On the other hand, if one adopts the view that the reading "אֶחָרִיִּים" is "original" (or, at least of substantial antiquity) *and* that the understanding of "נַעֲרָמוֹ" as involving personification of the Sea accurately reflects the meaning of Exod 15:8, it emerges that Deut 11:4 and Exod 15:8 are simply reflective of a shared tradition involving personification of the Reed Sea, as entailed by Hizquni's comments. These caveats notwithstanding,

Scripture," and J. Pakkala, "Textual Development within Paradigms and Paradigm Shifts," *HBAI* 3 (2014) 327–42. Similarly, the idea previously entertained by scholars, wherein many of the "mistakes" attested in the phylacteries and mezuzot of Qumran were to be explained on the principle, attested in rabbinic sources (see *b. Meg.* 18a), that they could be written by memory. The plethora of evidence regarding the fluidity of the biblical texts—and excerpted texts in particular—has effectively precluded the need to appeal to any such notion. See the following note.

(43) Naturally, this understanding of the importance of textual variants in understanding the history of the text-exegesis symbiosis does not ignore the fact that some textual anomalies are, indeed, the result of scribal error; misspellings and the like are, as a rule, to be viewed as mistakes.

it remains the fact that on any constellation of diachronic possibilities the reading preserved in Kennicott 9.69, et al., constitutes one of the—if not *the*—most explicit biblical formulations portraying the Reed Sea as actively intervening on behalf of the Israelites and, as such, is a most noteworthy, and significant, variant.

David ROTHSTEIN
Ariel University, Israel

THE WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES AS A MEDITATION ON THE EXILE (1)

Summary

The *Words of the Luminaries* is a weekly liturgy that surveys Israel's history from creation to the Babylonian exile. The impression gained from the extant material, however, is that within this historical survey the author tends to emphasize the exodus and subsequent wilderness wandering while glossing over stories from the period of the Patriarchs and Judges. The reason why is because of the typological richness of these stories and their pertinence for contemporary times: the exodus is a story of redemption, rebellion, and spiritual discipline, and as such a malleable paradigm in which to fit Israel's current state of perceived exile and in which the need for penitential prayer is contextualized. This article will focus primarily on the use of scripture related to Israel's experience of the exodus and wilderness to demonstrate that the author has artistically woven together a number of scriptural passages tied to these episodes in Israel's history to craft an extended meditation on the exile and its present-day effects, and to demonstrate that God continues to fulfill scriptural promises to Israel in spite of these exilic difficulties.

IN biblically oriented traditions the idea of exile continually emerges as a powerful motif used to describe the natural consequences of a broken covenant between Israel and God. The idea was popularized by the Deuteronomistic Historian's interpretation of the historical events of the 6th century BCE, the culmination of which lead to Jerusalem's destruction. And while we find in some Jewish works in the

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I describe *Words of the Luminaries* as a "meditation" in this article to highlight the process in which the message of this liturgy was crafted. See the discussion on pg. 6ff.

early Persian period (e.g., Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi) the idea that the exile had ended and Israel was now entering a period of divinely guided restoration, a nostalgic undercurrent still remained even in the more optimistic works of this time that the theo-political developments of the 5th century BCE and onwards were still somehow incomplete, that the glory of Israel remained somehow tarnished or lacking, and that things never fully returned to the way they once were under David and Solomon's rule. A well-known example that captures the paradoxical moods of nostalgia and hope is of course found in Ezra 3:12, where we read that when the older generation of priests and levites—those who apparently remembered the glory of Solomon's temple—saw the foundation laid for the second Jerusalem temple, they wept loudly, while those younger responded with shouts of joy. (2)

Other groups and scribal circles from the Second Temple period were more skeptical as to the extent in which restoration had taken place, and that a return to the land did not necessarily mean Israel was on the cusp of a new era. (3) In the admonitions of the *Damascus Document*, for example, the author understood that the possibility of restoration began only with the founding of the Damascus community. It was out of this community that God had caused to sprout a planting that would lead to restoration and the end of exile. But here, too, we must note that while the community understood itself to be enjoying God's blessings, it still considered itself to be living in exile, in a current "age of wrath" (CD i 5). (4)

(2) Ezra 3:12: "Yet many of the priests and Levites and heads of fathers' households, the old men who had seen the first temple, wept with a loud voice when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, while many shouted aloud for joy." I am not interested in the historicity this text purports, but rather in the claim that some viewed Israel's restoration as somehow incomplete. For a classic discussion of exile, see, e.g., Peter Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 1968); see also Michael Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *HeyJ* 17 (1976): 253-272; Martin G. Abegg, Jr., "Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. James M. Scott; JSJSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 111-125. George Brooke provides a helpful discussion on the idea of coming out of exile in, "The Place of Prophecy in Coming out of Exile: The Case of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 535-550. An article I found helpful for thinking about nostalgia is: Linda Hutcheon, "Irony, Nostalgia, and the Postmodern," in *Methods for the Study of Literature as Cultural Memory* (ed. Raymond Vervliet and Annemarie Estor; Studies in Comparative Literature 30; Atlanta, GA: 2000), 189-207.

(3) Knibb, "The Exile," *passim*.

(4) Jonathan Campbell, "Essene-Qumran Origins in the Exile: A Scriptural Basis?" *JJS* 46 (1995): 152. See also his book: idem, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

In fact, we need to supplement this statement by adding—as some scholars have already noted—that the community or social movement behind the *Damascus Document* regarded its continued exilic state as self-imposed (cf. CD v). (5) It was not forced upon this community, at least not by a colonizing empire, but instead was understood to be a self-initiated retreat from Israel's theo-political institutions as a necessary condition to bring about a new, eschatological era. As a social strategy, it also provided the community with a powerful narrative to distance itself from the larger Jewish society and critique the status quo. (6) There are other Dead Sea scrolls where we also see this idea clearly, such as in 1QS viii 12-14 and ix 18-20, both of which utilize the famous Isaiah 40 passage to prove that the wilderness is the preparatory staging ground to initiate restoration ("A voice is calling, 'Clear the way for the Lord in the wilderness; make smooth in the desert a highway for our God...'"). And it has often been argued that it is precisely this passage that provided this community or social movement a narrative with which to understand the importance of the desert site of Qumran, where restoration could be affected through prayer, education, and the study of Torah. (7)

The self-titled liturgy *Words of the Luminaries* is another important work in which the idea of exile features prominently but is often overlooked in modern scholarship. (8) The liturgy's perspective on exile

(5) Cf., e.g., Abegg, "Exile," 122.

(6) For the understanding of exile as a space from which to critique, see footnote 23.

(7) E.g., Shemaryahu Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran literature," in *Biblical Motifs* (ed. A. Altmann; Texts and Studies 3; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 31-63; George Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. George Brooke and Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117-132; Alison Schofield, "The Wilderness Motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. Kenneth E. Pomykala; Leiden: Brill, 2008). It should also be noted, as John Collins and Alison Schofield have argued persuasively, that the community or social movement responsible for the production and copying of at least some of the Dead Sea scrolls should not be reduced to the site associated with Qumran. It is likely that this group was broader geographically and socially. Cf. John Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of the Textual Development for the Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

(8) *Words of the Luminaries* was first published by Maurice Baillet in 1961 (idem, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumran, grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires'," *RB* 68 [1961]: 195-250); then in 1982 in DJD VII; see also Esther Chazon's dissertation "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' (4QDibHam)," PhD Dissertation, Hebrew University, 1991.

is somewhat complicated; its author considers Israel still in exile, but the tragedy of the 6th century BCE event has been softened considerably, and while exile does not serve the same historical-narratological function for a specific community as in CD and 1QS, it nonetheless maintains an outlook that coheres remarkably well with these texts. This work is unquestionably one of the most important liturgies discovered in the Qumran caves. It is one of the earliest extant witnesses to the practice of what many scholars classify as fixed daily prayer, (9) and of all the known Dead Sea scrolls liturgies recovered, it has survived the most intact, on two, possibly three, manuscripts (4Q504, 4Q505?, 4Q506). (10)

Briefly, the liturgy consists of communal prayers designed to be recited consecutively over the period of one week; each prayer constitutes one part of a larger “history of Israel,” in which the author describes in chronological sequence God’s dealings with Israel from creation to contemporary times. (11) These historical recollections form a liturgical scaffolding that guides the topics and themes for the petitions that end each prayer. (12) It is also important to note that *Words of the Luminaries* is typically categorized as a penitential prayer and

(9) The temporal qualifier “daily” is correct if read as referring to the act of praying every day within a weekly cycle that may have been repeated throughout the year. The daily prayers that eventually became part of the synagogue service are “daily” in addition to the temporal qualifier insofar as certain content is repeated every day (i.e. the *Amidah*)—no such daily core is evident from the extant fragments of *Words of the Luminaries*. See Esther Chazon, “‘When Did They Pray?’ Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature,” in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. Randal A. Argal, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 42–51; Daniel Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998); Russel Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 118–137; for the possibility of another approach, cf. Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism* (STDJ 104; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 103–106.

(10) Esther Chazon, “The Classification of 4Q505: Daily or Festival Prayers?” in *‘Go Out and Study the Land’ (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel* (ed. A. M. Maeir, J. Magness, and L. H. Schiffman; JSJSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 23–34. See Daniel Falk’s challenges to Chazon’s arguments in “Reconsideration of the War Scroll in a Liturgical Opisthograph From Qumran,” Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (Baltimore, Nov 24, 2013); also relevant to the discussion is idem, “Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,” in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity* (ed. Clemens Leonhard and Helmut Löhr; WUNT 2/363; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33–88.

(11) Esther Chazon, “4QdibHam: Liturgy or Literature?” *RevQ* 15 (1991): 447–456.

(12) For an insightful look at how *Words of the Luminaries* guides the praying community through the week, see Daniel Falk, “Liturgical Progression and the Experience of Transformation in Prayers from Qumran,” *DSD* 22 (2015): 267–284.

often read together with other such classic prayers found in Ezra 9, Nehemiah 9, and Daniel 9. (13)

What I wish to demonstrate below is that through a careful reworking of key portions of history in Israel's scriptures, the author of *Words of the Luminaries* has crafted a liturgy that, much like the authors of the *Damascus Document* (CD) and *Community Rule* (1QS), has a much more positive approach to the purpose and idea of exile. It should be noted that a major difference between these documents and *Words of the Luminaries* is that in the latter the exile does not appear to be self-imposed. I argue nonetheless that the effects and purpose of the exile are the same, which is that the author has described the reality of living "outside the land"—whether spiritually or physically—more as an *opportunity* instead of a punishment. It is in the wilderness of exile that one can experience God's mercy, where one can receive a theological education, where one learns to rely upon and enjoy God's blessings, and in the words of Isaiah, to "make straight in the desert a highway for God" (Isa 40:3). It is worth noting that these motifs associated with exile are a product of a certain amount of chronological distance or 'hindsight' from the actual event, of living well on the other side of 586 BCE. By the late Second Temple period, a perspective on exile had developed in some scribal circles through the interpretation of history and scripture, a perspective included in *Words of the Luminaries*, that had tempered the disaster of exile and showed how God continued to be in covenant with Israel in spite of the covenantal curses. (14)

(13) The defining features of penitential prayer have been aptly summarized by Rodney Werline and are as follows: they contain "a direct address to God in which an individual, group, or an individual on behalf of a group confesses sins and petitions for forgiveness as an act of repentance." Cf. Rodney Werline, "Defining Penitential Prayer," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 1: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Mark Boda, Daniel Falk, and Rodney Werline; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2006), xv. The earliest attempt I have found to group *Words of the Luminaries* together with other classic examples of penitential prayers was by John Collins in "Excursus on the Prayer in Daniel 9," in *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (ed. John J. Collins and Carolyn E. Bowser; HSM 16; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 185-188. There are many readily apparent similarities between *Words of the Luminaries* and classic penitential prayers, but see the article by Esther Chazon in which she discusses some of the differences: "The Words of the Luminaries and Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Times," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Mark Boda, Daniel Falk, and Rodney Werline; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2007), 177-186.

(14) Much more work is needed on the use of scripture in prayers and the interplay between the two. Regarding *Words of the Luminaries* specifically, see Esther Chazon, "Scripture and Prayer in 'Words of the Luminaries,'" in *Prayers that Cite Scripture* (ed. James Kugel; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 25-41; See also Judith Newman, *Praying By the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999).

Before going any further, I would like to touch upon the title of this article and add a brief caveat regarding why I have described *Words of the Luminaries* as a meditation on the exile. While this work must first and foremost be understood as a liturgy, the word meditation points to the *processes* entailed in the construction of the liturgy's message through a sustained careful reading and juxtaposition of key historical episodes found in Israel's Torah, the Prophets, and Psalms to produce new interpretations of these scriptures for contemporary readers and reciters. When we examine closely the use of scripture in *Words of the Luminaries*, an underlying body of scriptural texts consistently emerges that is especially concerned with recounting and interpreting key episodes within Israel's history that highlight God's benevolent acts and contrasts these with Israel's response of rebellion. These texts were gathered together, read, and reflected upon at a later time in a systematic manner such that a type or paradigm of the spiritual drama played out by God and Israel was developed, in which divine benevolence, judgment, and new beginnings were highlighted (col. numbers in brackets are according to the reconstruction represented in *DSSR 5* and *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*): (15)

Rebellion, Moses' Intercession, God's Kindness:

Exodus 32-34: frg. 6 10-14 (iii); 4 7 (v); 3 ii 20-22 (v); 1-2 ii 10-11 (xv).
 Numbers 14: frg. 6 10 (iii); 4 7 (v); 3 ii 10 (xi); 7 + 18 15 (xii); 1-2 i 8-10 (xiv); 1-2 ii 7-10 (xv).
 Psalm 78: frg. 4 6 (v); 7 + 18 16 (xii); 1-2 ii 17-18 (xv); 1-2 iv 6-7 (xvii); 1-2 v 6 (xviii).
 Ezekiel 20: frg. 7 + 18 15-17 (xii); 1-2 ii *passim* (xv).

The Curses of the Covenant:

Leviticus 26: frg. 3 ii 14 (xi); 1-2 iii 9-10 (xvi); 1-2 v 5-10 (xviii); 1-2 vi 6-8 (xix).
 Deuteronomy 28-32: frg. 6 7 (iii); 1-2 ii 15 (xv); 1-2 iii 9 (xvi); 1-2 iv 15 (xvii); 1-2 v 13-14 (xviii).

God's Discipline and Parental Love:

Exodus 19:4: frg. 6 6 (iii).
 Deuteronomy 8:5: frg. 6 15 (iii); 1-2 iii 7 (xvi).

(15) We often (and unsurprisingly) see many of these episodes recounted in reviews of history, such as in Pss 78; 105; 106; Isa 63:7-64:11. Cf. Anja Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet: Die Rezeption der biblischen Geschichte in den Psalmen des Alten Testaments* (FAT 94; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); George Brooke, "Praying History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Memory, Identity, Fulfilment," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period* (BZAW 486; ed. Mika Pajunen and Jeremy Penner; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), forthcoming

Deuteronomy 32:11: frg. 6 7 (iii).
 Leviticus 26 (+ Jeremiah 14): frg. 1-2 vi 7-8 (xix).
 Isaiah 26:16: frg. 1-2 v 17-18 (xviii).
 Isaiah 43:24: frg. 1-2 v 19 (xviii).
 Isaiah 48:17-18: frg. 1-2 v 20-22 (xviii).

The usual mantra recited by Dead Sea scrolls scholars must be repeated here: the fragmentary nature of *Words of the Luminaries* leaves us guessing at what has been lost in the lacunae; nevertheless, I would argue that the frequency of the scriptural texts listed above does leave us with an overall impression of at least some of the themes contained therein. So, for example, two important scriptural texts that are frequently quoted and/or alluded to in extant copies of *Words of the Luminaries* are the golden calf episode in Exodus 32-34 and the incident of the spies recorded in Numbers 14 where Israel refuses to enter Canaan. (16) The reason for the prominence of these texts is undoubtedly because they record that Moses successfully persuaded God through intercessory prayer to forego Israel's destruction by recalling the thirteen divine attributes. At times the language from these two episodes is blended together in the liturgy, as are some scriptural texts thematically similar, such as Psalm 78, Jeremiah 30, and Ezekiel 20. Other equally important texts in *Words of the Luminaries* are Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28-30, both of which deal with the biblical curses of the covenant and describe how God will punish Israel with exile. And finally, the theme of God's discipline continually emerges, usually together with the keyword יסר or מוסר, and is often grounded in scriptural texts that liken Israel's relationship to God as one of a loving parent and child. Especially important is Deuteronomy 8:5 ("Know then in your heart that as a man disciplines [יסר] his son, so the Lord your God disciplines you").

Sometimes the liturgy is so fragmentary that it is difficult to prove definitively the scripture used, and I also admit that there are examples of biblical phraseology which we should probably regard as part of the author's own biblically saturated vocabulary. But overall, I argue that there are continual and repeated occurrences of key texts and themes within the liturgy, the result of which gives the impression of

(16) For a helpful look at how Exod 32-34 is used in penitential works, see Mark Boda, "Penitential Innovations within the Twelve," in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies* (ed. by Brian A. Mastin, Katharine J. Dell, and James K. Aitken; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 391-408. He writes on pg. 402: "The penitential prayer tradition that arises in the Babylonian and Persian periods showcases an innovative use of the Exodus 32-34 tradition as a theological foundation for repentance in and after the exile."

a consistent and sustained reading or meditation on specific and select portions of scripture to construct and produce the liturgy's theological message(s). Of course, the overall effect of such scripturalization serves a specific rhetorical purpose, which is that the message of *Words of the Luminaries* has already been anticipated by scripture, and that it can be found in scripture through correct biblical interpretation. The present is found in the past just as the past provides the means to understand the present.

What does this actually look like in *Words of the Luminaries*? As stated above, the exile and its effects is one of the topics the author wishes to address through a careful juxtaposition and interpretation of key scriptural texts, but what is striking about this liturgy is that, unlike other penitential prayers of the Second Temple period, we see a more positive attitude towards Israel's current exilic state. The exile and its effects appear to be less traumatic. Conversely, we also find examples throughout the liturgy of a more confident Israel, an Israel that feels it has responded to God faithfully and thus deserving of God's attention and the benefits of the covenant. We see this attitude displayed in a number of ways. I will discuss three.

1. Remembering

The first is the way in which Israel petitions God. Throughout the liturgy we find the imperative, "Remember, O Lord," a petitionary formula found also in the book of Lamentations (5:1). But rather than asking God to remember the misfortune that has fallen on Israel as we might find in a lament, the liturgy goes on to recall Israel's history and God's benevolent and disciplining acts performed therein. And more importantly, as we move through the liturgy we also read statements claiming that God has indeed remembered Israel, just as Israel has remembered God. For example, in frg. 1-2 iii 5 (col. xvi) (17) we read that Israel has remembered God, "We have remembered only your name....," and later in frg. 1-2 v 10-13 (col. xviii) the text, relying heavily upon Lev 26:45 (indicated by the underline), states that God has remembered Israel: "You remembered your covenant, (18) for you redeemed us [i.e. Israel] in the sight of the nations and did not desert

(17) All column and line numbers are based on the reconstruction represented in DSSR 5 and *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

(18) An allusion to Lev 26:44 (see underlined) is found in the preceding lines (4Q504 1-2 v 7-10 [col. xvi]): "You did not reject the seed of Jacob, and you did not despise Israel to their end to break your covenant with them. For you (are) a living God, you yourself, and there is none other than you."

us among the nations. You did favors to your people Israel among all the countries amongst whom you had exiled them....”

These statements are important because they exemplify a certain amount of confidence. By asking God to remember, those reciting the liturgy are alleviating themselves of a certain amount of guilt. Moreover, stating that Israel has remembered God’s name implies fulfilling the obligations of Torah, and conversely, stating that God has remembered the covenant implies an expectation for God to act—one could even consider it a forcing of God’s hand. This idea is further reified when we note that the Leviticus text cited in *Words of the Luminaries* states that God *will* remember Israel (זָכַרְתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית [waw consec.])—with the emphasis on the future—but in *Words of the Luminaries* this promise has been seen as fulfilled (frg. 1-2 v 10 [col. xviii]: “You remembered your covenant...” [וְזָכַרְתָּ בְּרִיתְכָּה]). The text then goes on to claim that God has indeed already acted to a certain extent by stating that God provided divine favors to Israel in exile (ll. 12-13: “You did favors to your people Israel among all the countries amongst whom you had exiled them...”), a motif often found in scripture in reference to biblical heroes living *outside* the land. Consider, for example, the following:

Gen 39:21: “But the Lord was with Joseph and showed him steadfast love, and gave him favor in the sight of the keeper of the prison (וַיִּתֵּן חֲנֹן בְּעֵינֵי שָׂר) (בעיני שר);”

Exod 3:21: “I will give this people favor (וְנָתַתִּי אֶת חֲנֹן הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּעֵינֵי) (מִצְרַיִם) with the Egyptians, so that when you depart you will not leave empty-handed;”

Exod 11:3: “And the LORD gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians (וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֶת חֲנֹן הָעָם בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם);”

Tobit 1:13: “Then the Most High gave me favor (χαρις) and good appearance in the sight of Shalmaneser, and I was his buyer of provisions;”

Baruch 2:14: “Lord, listen to our prayer and our pleading. For your own sake, set us free and give us favor (χαρις) with those who have brought us into exile.

Perhaps the most confident statement about Israel’s fidelity to God is reserved for Friday’s prayer in what could be considered a concluding crescendo of theological confidence. In frg. 1-2 vi 5-10 (col. xix) we read: “And now, on this very day, we have humbled our heart, expiated our iniquity and the iniquity of our forefathers, for our disloyalty and our rebellious behavior. We have not rejected your

trials, and our soul has not despised your punishments to the point of breaking your covenant.” (19)

While we do find confession in *Words of the Luminaries* (e.g. 4 7 [col. v], 1-2 v 19-20 [col. xviii]), it is clear from this statement that those praying have absolved themselves of a certain amount of guilt. It is a perspective that has moved beyond the sin-exile-restoration motif of Deuteronomy and instead boldly asserts Israel’s righteousness and the expectation of divine deliverance and restoration. When compared to the penitential prayer of Daniel 9, for example, it becomes clear that in *Words of the Luminaries* the description of Israel and the land is not one of despair.

2. Divine Discipline

The second area where we find a more confident Israel in *Words of the Luminaries* is in the way the experience of exile has been described. Here I have to admit that my general understanding of exile as a biblical concept has largely been informed by the violent language we find in the covenantal curses at the end of Leviticus, where God’s vengeance is being described as an execution by the sword resulting in death and extreme hunger (26:23-29; also Deuteronomy 28:20-68). But these are not the only important images of exile, nor are they the only responses to the disaster and trauma that we find in Second Temple Judaism.

In later Second Temple Jewish literature of the diaspora, both Isaiah Gafni (20) and John Barclay, (21) for example, have traced themes of

(19) For the use of the fathers and sons motif in the so-called historical psalms, see Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet*; eadem, “Fathers and Sons: Family Ties in the Historical Psalms,” in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers*, forthcoming.

(20) Isaiah Gafni, *Land, Center and Diaspora: Jewish Constructs in Late Antiquity* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

(21) John Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE-117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996). For other helpful secondary literature on diaspora and exile in ancient Judaism, see Esther Chazon, “‘Gather the Dispersed of Judah’: Seeking a Return to the Land as a Factor in Jewish Identity of Late Antiquity,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lynn R. Lidonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 159-176; John Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Age* (The Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, rev. ed. 2000); Noah Hacham, “Exile and Self-identity in the Qumran Sect and in Hellenistic Judaism,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9-11 January, 2005* (STDJ 88; ed. Esther G. Chazon and Betsy Halpern-Amaru; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3-21; idem, “Where does the Shekhinah Dwell?: Between the Dead Sea Sect, Diaspora Judaism, Rabbinic Literature, and Christianity,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*

ambivalence towards the idea of exile as a type of punishment, and that in some instances living outside the land of Israel is recast in a positive light. Just as important as the works of these scholars—I would argue—are some of the modern literary and cultural theories of exile and diaspora which echo some of the same sentiments; a nice example is Edward Said's essay "Reflections on Exile," in which he highlights the "contrapuntal" nature of living uprooted from one's home. He writes in his summarizing conclusions that

Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions....For an exile, habits of life, expression or activity in the new environment, inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment. Thus both the old and the new environments are vivid, actual, occurring contrapuntally. There is a unique pleasure in this sort of apprehension, especially if the exile is conscious of other contrapuntal juxtapositions that diminish orthodox judgment and elevate appreciative sympathy. There is also a particular sense of achievement in acting as if one were at home wherever one happens to be. (22)

Of course, as Said eloquently shows in his essay, the negative experiences of exile and the positive attempts to grapple with them often bleed together. But it is important to note that as we move further chronologically from the traumatic event of exile, the more likely we will find rumination and reflection on the idea and meaning of exile that is potentially enriching and positive. (23) I would like to

in Context, Vol. I (VTSup 140; ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 399-412; Daniel Schwartz, "From the Return to Zion until the Hasmonean Revolt," in *Israel: People, Land, State—A Nation and Its Homeland* (ed. A. Shinan; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2005), 39-55; idem, "Divine Punishment in Second Maccabees: Vengeance, Abandonment or Loving Discipline?" in *Der Mensch vor Gott: Forschungen zum Menschenbild in Bibel, antiken, Judentum und Koran. Festschrift für Hermann Lichtenberger zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Ulrike Mittman-Richert, Friedrich Avemarie, and Gerbern S. Oegema; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 109-116; idem, "How at Home Were the Jews of the Hellenistic Diaspora?" *Classical Philology* 95 (2000): 349-357.

(22) Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile," in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile* (ed. Marc Robinson; Boston: Faber & Faber, 1994), 137-149.

(23) For studies that focus on some of the more positive aspects of exile, particularly as a means of distinguishing oneself from the norm to transcend local customs and norms, and also as a space to critique, see, e.g., Terry Eagleton's 1970 classic study of British modernism, *Exiles and Émigrés: Studies in Modern Literature* (London: Schocken Books, 1970); see also James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (1994): 302-338 and Susan Suleiman, ed., *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998).

suggest that we find this same contrapuntal outlook in *Words of the Luminaries* in which the tragedy and violence of exile has been ameliorated by juxtaposing it with the image of God as a loving parent. The author has accomplished this by blending together the covenant curses of Leviticus 26 (26:23) and with motifs of parental discipline and love that we find in Deuteronomy (8:5). A good example can be found in frg. 1-2 iii 5-12 (col. xvi) where we read:

5 We have [re]membered only your name; for your glory you have created us [Isa 43:7]; 6 you have established us as your sons in the sight of all the peoples. For you called 7 [I]srael “my son, my first-born” [Exod 4:22] and have disciplined [יִסַּר] us as one disciplines 8 [יִסַּר] his son [Deut 8:5]. You have {created us} raised *vacat* us over the years of our generations 9 [...] [evil/ illness, famine, thirst, plague [Deut 28:21, 22], the sword 10 [...re]quital of your covenant [Lev 26:25], for you chose us 11 [to be your people amongst all] the earth. For that reason you have poured on us your rage 12 [and] your [jealousy with all the intensity of your anger [Jer 10:25/Zeph 3:8]. And clung to us.... (24)

I suggest that here the scribe was able to connect these two scriptural motifs through the verb יִסַּר. While we do not find יִסַּר in the lines of the extant material alluding to Lev 26 (it may have been there, we just do not know), if the scribe were at all familiar with this scriptural portion he would have known that יִסַּר occurs within this context of covenant curses and functions as a kind of synecdoche for the types of ills that fall upon wayward Israel, as Leviticus 26:23 summarizes: “If in spite of these punishments (יִסַּר) you have not turned back to me, but continue to be hostile to me....” Likewise, the language used in ll. 11-12 surely alludes to Zeph 3:8 and Jer 10:25, both of which in their immediate scriptural contexts describe God’s disciplining actions again with the word יִסַּר (Zeph 3:7 [תִּקְחֵי מוֹסֵר]; Jer 10:24 [יִסְרֵנִי]).

Another example of combining the two motifs of discipline and parental love can be found in frg. 6 (col. iii). Again we see the same themes of death and destruction being mitigated or at least tempered

(24) Trans. DSSSE, 1014-1015 with slight adaptation. The confines of this article do not allow me to explore this motif further in other Second Temple texts, but it is worth noting that a similar perspective is developed in *Pss. Sol.* 18:3-4: “Your judgments are upon the whole land in mercy, and your love is upon the seed of Abraham, the sons of Israel. Your discipline is upon us as upon a firstborn, an only son.” For an article on the motif of discipline and education in the *Pss. Sol.*, see Rodney Werline, “The Experience of God’s *Paideia* in the Psalms of Solomon,” in *Experientia, Volume 2: Linking Text and Experience* (ed. Colleen Shantz and Rodney Werline; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2012), 17-44. For the theme of discipline in another Qumran prayer, 4Q369, see also James Kugel, “4Q369: ‘Prayer of Enosh’ and Ancient Biblical Interpretation,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 119-148, esp. 126-131, and the bibliography cited there.

by reframing the idea of God's dealings with Israel in the wilderness, this time in the Sinai, as the actions of a loving parent. It is important to note here that the motif of the loving parent is further enriched with the idea that a loving parent carries the child (נשא), a motif readily exemplified in passages such as Deut 1:31: "And in the wilderness, where you saw how the Lord your God carried you (נשא), just as one carries a child, all the way that you traveled until you reached this place." (25) Through a juxtaposition of scriptural passages related to Israel's wilderness wanderings (ll. 6-11), divine curses (l. 14), and God's parental love toward Israel (l. 15), the scribe is able to prove that God has remained with Israel in her present exilic state (see esp. l. 9: "we remain aloof and one does not count us among the nations..."), an idea further solidified by keeping the present tense of Num 14:14 (l. 10). 4Q504 6 6-18 (col. iii) states:

6 Remember, please that all of us are your people [Isa 63:8ff. (26)]. You have lifted us [נשא] wonderfully 7 [upon the wings of] eagles and you have brought us to you [Exod 19:4]. And like the eagle which watches its nest, 8 circles [over it chicks,] stretches its wings, takes one and carries [נשא] it upon [its pinions] [Deut 32:11] [...] 9 we remain aloof and one does not count us among the nations. And [...]. 10 [...] You are in our midst in the column of fire and in the cloud [...]. 11 [...] your [holly] [...] walks in front of us, and your glory is in [our] midst [...]. [...] [Num 14:14] 12 the face of Moses, [your] serv[ant] 13 [...] For you [...] 14 [...] /and he is innocent/, and you do not acknowledge innoc[ent...] [ינקה ולוא תנקה: Num 14:14; Jer 30:11 (27)]. 15 [...] as one disciplines [יסר] [a child...] [Deut 8:5] 16 [...] holy ones and pure [ones...]. 17 [...] the man [who does them] shall live by them [...]. [...] [Lev 18:5; Ezek 20]. (28)

3. Divine Blessing

Not only has the negative experiences of exile been tempered, the author goes on to describe the exile as a place where God shows Israel divine favor. One of these favors is the gift of the holy spirit, a gift which in biblical tradition came to be associated with God's presence

(25) See also Isa 63:7-64:11, which alludes to Exod 19:4. Isa 63:9 states: "It was no messenger or angel but his presence that saved them; in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; he lifted (נשא) them up and carried them all the days of old" (NRSV).

(26) See previous note.

(27) Lines 13-14 refer to God's judgment. The phrase ינקה ולוא תנקה occurs in both Num 14:14 as part of the divine attributes, but it is also connected in Jer 30:11 with the verb יסר.

(28) Trans. DSSSE, 1009.

in the wilderness. In Isaiah (44:3; 63:11) and Nehemiah (9:20) it is associated with the exodus, and in later rabbinic texts such as the *Mekhila* (*Pisha* 1.5; see also *Sifre* 161 [to Num 35:34]), too, it is associated with God's presence in exile. In frg. 4 5 (col. v) we read: "These things we know because you have favored [חנּוּאָתֵנוּ] us with the h[oly] spirit." A more telling use of the motif is again found in frg. 1-2 v 10-18 (col. xviii) where we read:

10 You remembered your covenant, (29) 11 for you redeemed us in the sight of the nations [Lev 26:45] and did not desert us 12 amongst the nations. You did favors to your people [Exod 3:21; 11:3 (30)] Israel among all 13 [the] countries amongst whom you had exiled them, to place 14 upon their heart to turn to you and to listen to your voice 15 [in agreement with all that you commanded [Deut 30:1-2] through the hand of Moses your servant 16 [Fo]r you have poured your holy spirit upon us 17 to bestow your blessings to us [Isa 44:3 (31)], so that we would look for you in our anguish, 18 and whisper a prayer in the anguish of your discipline [מוֹסְרָכָה: Isa 26:16]. (32)

This last text is undoubtedly one of the more important statements within the liturgy, not only because it sums up what I have been arguing up until this point—that Israel's experience of exile has been recast in a more positive light—but that it also provides the reason why God has both disciplined Israel through the experience of exile and blessed her through divine gifts; the reason: to teach Israel to pray regularly. Again, in lines 16-18, we read that through the gift of the holy spirit and the anguish of discipline, Israel has learned to turn to God in prayer.

There are a number of intriguing aspects to this text. First, I would argue that this type of statement set within *Words of the Luminaries* provides a subtle explanation for why regular prayer is important—it is the desired behavior achieved through discipline and divine blessing. For historians attempting to trace the origins and development of fixed

(29) An allusion to Lev 26:44 (see underlined) is found in the preceding phrase (4Q504 1-2 v 7-10 [col. xviii]): "You did not reject the seed of Jacob, and you did not despise Israel to their end to break your covenant with them. For you (are) a living God, you yourself, and there is none other than you."

(30) For the motif of divine favor outside the land, see pg. 12ff. above.

(31) Arthur Sekki suggests that the "Qumran community feels they are part of the eschatological generation of Isa 44:3" because of the giving of the holy spirit (*The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 79 n. 27). Here in *Words of the Luminaries* I would argue that the giving of the holy spirit is not a sign of the eschaton but a prerequisite.

(32) Trans. DSSSE, 1015-1016.

Jewish prayer, the importance of these lines cannot be overemphasized because it exemplifies a certain level of reflective thinking about the importance of regular prayer, an important step for any tradition to take hold within a group. Second, we find similar statements linking together the idea of learning to pray through God's discipline and blessings in other texts that advocate regular prayer in early Jewish tradition. A good example is Josephus' description of daily prayer in his *Antiquities of the Jews* (4.212), we read:

Twice each day, both at its beginning and when the hour comes for turning to sleep, bear witness (μαρτυρέω) to God of the gifts (τὰς δωρεάς) that He granted them when they were delivered from the land of the Egyptians, since gratitude (εὐχαριστία (33)) is proper by nature: it is given in return for those things that have already occurred and as a stimulus for what will be. (*Ant.* 4.212) (34)

We see clearly that for Josephus, the *raison d'être* for daily prayer is that it is the proper response to God's benevolent acts during the exodus. And when we turn back to his retelling of the exodus in *Antiquities*, he makes clear that both the gifts and the trials Israel experienced during their hurried escape were to "test their virtue to see what steadfastness they possessed and what memory of past events they retained;" and, just as importantly, Josephus thought that the trials were to "train them with the difficulties they were now experiencing." So, just like in *Words of the Luminaries*, Josephus highlights the didactic function of divine gifts Israel received and trials the Israelites experienced, which were to test their recollection of God's past dealings with Israel and to "train" them to respond to God properly. In both texts the proper response is prayer. This idea is not isolated in *Words of the Luminaries* and *Antiquities*, but was part of a broader development that began in late Second Temple period Judaism and continued within rabbinic Judaism, in which the gift of manna was understood as a means to train Israel to recite regular prayers. See, for example:

- 1) Wisdom of Solomon 16:27-28: "For what was not destroyed by fire was melted when simply warmed by a fleeting ray of sun, to make it known that one must rise before the sun to give you [i.e. God] thanks (εὐχαριστία), and must pray to you at the dawning of light."

(33) Note also the term εὐχαριστία in the Josephus passage above.

(34) Trans. by Louis Feldman in *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, Volume 3: Judean Antiquities 1-4* (ed. Steve Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 406.

- 2) *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, Vayassa⁴, on a lemma from Exod 16:14: “Rabbi Eleazar of Modi‘im says: ‘And when the layer of dew was gone [i.e. when manna had melted from the sun]:’ this means that when the prayer of our fathers who lay in the earth went up” (see Exod 16:4 and Deut 32:2).
- 3) *Sifre* 89: “Then the people would recite the Shema and say the Prayer (Amidah), then someone would go to the door of his house and collect his food and the food of his household [i.e. manna].”

To conclude, while the author of *Words of the Luminaries* was more than likely not outside the land of Israel *per se*, at least not physically, he made a consistent and sustained use of specific scriptural texts to address the theological question of the status and purpose of Israel in exile. I have argued that since he crafted his message well on the other side of the disaster of 586 BCE, some of the more sensational and violent language associated with the responses to the disaster and subsequent exile have been tempered and ameliorated. I should point out that this idea is found already in Deut 8:2, a text which qualifies the years Israel spent in the wilderness as a time of testing to determine Israel’s commitment to the law (“And you shall remember the whole way that the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments or not.”). What I have demonstrated in this article is that the author of *Words of the Luminaries* capitalized upon this idea and took it further, constructing a message about Israel’s response to God’s discipline that is both positive and confident, that Israel has not rejected God’s trials and has not despised God’s punishments to the point of breaking the covenant.

Finally, I have argued that *Words of the Luminaries* hints that its own *raison d’être* was born out the proper response to God’s discipline and blessing. Much like other early Jewish texts that situate the origins of regular prayer during the exodus as the proper response to divine gifts and testing, *Words of the Luminaries* provides a subtle reassurance to the praying community that it has responded correctly with prayer to the disciplining purposes of exile (frg. 1-2 v 17-18 [col. xviii]: “...so that we would look for you in our anguish, 18 and whisper a prayer in the anguish of your discipline...”). This indeed is an important step in what would become one of the most important and fundamental traditions in Jewish tradition: fixed daily prayer.

Jeremy PENNER

JES 6,8–13 IN 1QJES^A

Summary

The prophet Isaiah is sent to harden the Israelites' heart. In the history of its interpretation, Is 6,9f. has raised a number of serious theological questions. The present study focusses on its representation in the manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, notably the great Isaiah-Scroll (1QIsa^a VI 1–10). The analysis shows that some of the differences are not confined to the level of orthography and phonetics but have considerable implications for the understanding of the text. Following this presumption, the text attests to a different proposition. It shows the dissociation of Yachad and the authorities of the temple in Jerusalem. 1QIsa^a VI 1–10 bears witness to an inner Jewish reception of Isaiah's prophecy that gives expression to the self-conception of the group.

Sommaire

L'ordre donné à Isaïe d'endurcir les cœurs des Israélites (Is. 6, 9 ss.) a soulevé de nombreuses questions théologiques importantes dans l'histoire de l'interprétation de ce groupement de versets. La présente étude se focalise sa tradition dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte, notamment dans le grand rouleau d'Isaïe (1QIsa^a VI 1–10). L'analyse montre que si certaines différences ne sont que d'ordre orthographique ou phonétique, beaucoup d'entre elles sont pertinentes pour l'interprétation du texte et ouvrent de nouvelles dimensions pour sa compréhension. 1QIsa^a VI 1–10 révèle la divergence entre Yachad et les autorités juives du temple. Ce texte témoigne donc d'une réception particulière de la prophétie d'Isaïe à l'intérieur du judaïsme et son utilisation par un groupe spécifique.

1. EIN SCHWIERIGER TEXT MIT PROBLEMATISCHER WIRKUNGSGESCHICHTE

DER sog. Verstockungsauftrag (Jes 6,9f.) bietet im Kontext der Beauftragung des Jesaja eine innerhalb des Volkes Israel ergehende Gerichtsbotschaft von ausnehmender Härte. (1)

(1) Vgl. Ernst Jenni, „Jesajas Berufung in der neueren Forschung. Antrittsvorlesung an der Universität Basel am 27. Mai 1959“, *ThZ* 15 (1959): 338–339.

„Ist es denkbar, dass der Gott Israels, der sich nach alttestamentlicher Grunderfahrung als rettender und segnender Gott erwiesen hat, seinen Propheten beauftragte, das Volk Israel so zu verhärten, dass seine Verstockung ‚als von Gott gewolltes Gericht‘ zu verstehen ist?“ (2) Mit gleicher Dringlichkeit stellt sich diese Frage in der Aufnahme des Textes im NT, in der die innerisraelitische Verstockungsaussage (Jes 6,9f.) nicht mehr als Element prophetischer Kritik in der Gemeinschaft des Volkes Israel begegnet, (3) sondern der wertenden Verhältnisbestimmung zweier Gruppen innerhalb des Judentums dient. (4) Eine ähnliche Verwendungsweise findet sich in der Überlieferung von Qumran (1QJes^a); hier lässt sich der „Verstockungsauftrag“ — wie im Folgenden gezeigt werden soll — vor dem Hintergrund der Abgrenzung einer spezifischen, jüdischen Sondergruppe, des Yachad, von dem mit dem Tempel in Jerusalem verbundenen Judentum der damaligen Zeit verstehen.

(2) Volker A. Lehnert, *Die Provokation Israels. Die paradoxe Funktion von Jes 6,9–10 bei Markus und Lukas: ein textpragmatischer Versuch im Kontext gegenwärtiger Rezeptionsästhetik und Lesetheorie*, NThDH 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999), 1.4–10. Vgl. neben anderen Craig Evans, *To See and not Perceive. Isaiah 6.9–10 in Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation*, JSOT.S 64 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 13–52; Jörg Barthel, *Prophetenwort und Geschichte. Die Jesajaüberlieferung in Jes 6–8 und 28–31*, FAT 19 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 88–93; Rudolf Kilian, „Der Verstockungsauftrag Jesajas“, in *Studien zu alttestamentlichen Texten und Situationen*, SBAB 28, hg. v. Wolfgang Werner und Jürgen Werlitz (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1999), 123–142; Andrew Davies, *Double Standards in Isaiah. Re-evaluating Prophetic Ethics and Divine Justice*, BiInS 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 142–144.173–186; Willem A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja 1–12*, HThK.AT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2003), 164–167; Peter Höffken, *Jesaja. Der Stand der theologischen Diskussion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 119–120; Torsten Uhlig, „Too Hard to Understand? The Motif of Hardening in Isaiah“, in *Interpreting Isaiah. Issues and Approaches*, hg. v. David G. Firth und H.G.M. Williamson (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2009), 73–78.

(3) Evans, *To see*, 60, „In its historical context Isaiah’s message is an example of ‘prophetic critique’ within the community.“

(4) Klaus Baltzer et al., „Esaías. Isaías/Das Buch Jesaja“, in *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, hg. v. Martin Karrer und Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2011), 2498, „Wiederholt werden im NT Jesajaworte in polemischer Weise gegenüber nicht christusgläubigen Israeliten verwendet ...“ Vgl. auch Martin Karrer, „Und ich werde sie heilen.“ Das Verstockungsmotiv aus Jes 6,9f in Apg 28,26f“, in *Kirche und Volk Gottes. Festschrift für Jürgen Roloff zum 70. Geburtstag*, hg. v. Martin Karrer et al. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 255–257; Michael Bachmann, „Verstockung II. Neutestamentlich“, *LBH* 643–644.

2. ÜBERLIEFERUNG IN QUMRAN

2.1 Qumran Scribal Practice

In der Auseinandersetzung mit der Überlieferung von Qumran hat Emanuel Tov eine formale Klassifikation etabliert, (5) die, obwohl sie nicht unwidersprochen geblieben ist, (6) weiterführend sein dürfte. Aufgrund bestimmter formaler Merkmale der Rechtschreibung, Formbildung und Schreibtechnik lassen sich zahlreiche Manuskripte einer Gruppe der sog. „Qumran bzw. Palestinian Scribal Practice“ zuweisen. Da beinahe alle „sectarian texts“ diese formalen Elemente zeigen, sieht Tov in ihnen eine für die Gruppe des Yachad spezifische Eigenart der Texttransmission. (7) Zudem zählen auch biblische Manuskripte zu dieser formal bestimmten Gruppe. Diese lassen sich — in den meisten Fällen — nicht eindeutig einer der großen Traditionslinien (proto-masoretischer Text, hebräische Vorlage der Septuaginta, samaritanischer Pentateuch) zuordnen. (8) Ihre eigenständige Textform korrespondiert mit der sectarian-Prägung der nicht-biblischen Texte. Dieser Zusammenhang und die Zuordnung der Texte der Qumran Scribal Practice zur Gemeinschaft von Qumran legen nahe, Varianten in den biblischen Texten der Qumran Scribal Practice aus dem

(5) Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Emanuel Tov, „The Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert — An Overview and Analysis,“ in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran. Collected Essays*, TSAJ 121, hg. v. Emanuel Tov (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 145–146.

(6) Vgl. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, „Assessing Emanuel Tov’s „Qumran Scribal Practice,““ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, STDJ 92, hg. v. Sarianna Metso (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 178–205; George J. Brooke, „E Pluribus Unum: Textual Variety and Definitive Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls,“ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, hg. v. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004), 108–109; Sidney White Crawford, „Understanding the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible. A New Proposal,“ in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, FRLANT 239, hg. v. Nóra Dávid et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 65.

(7) Vgl. Tov, „Biblical Texts,“ 145–146; Emanuel Tov, „The Text of Isaiah at Qumran,“ in Tov, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran*, 42.

(8) Tov, „Biblical Texts,“ 146, „The majority of the texts written in the Qumran practice are characterized as non-aligned [...] because of their many contextual changes.“ Emanuel Tov, „The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Textual History of the Masoretic Bible,“ in Dávid et al., *Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 46. Die übrigen biblischen Manuskripte klassifiziert Tov nach ihrer Nähe zu den großen Traditionslinien. Vgl. Tov, „Biblical Texts,“ 143–145. Ähnlich Eugene Ulrich, „The Qumran Biblical Scrolls. The Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism,“ in Lim, *Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, 85–87.

Blickwinkel dieser Gruppierung zu betrachten und zu verstehen. (9) Auch wenn sich eine (durchgehende) Prägung durch den Yachad in 1QJes^a nicht nachweisen lässt, so ist zu erwägen, ob sich nicht an einzelnen Stellen Spuren der Sicht der Gemeinschaft niedergeschlagen haben. (10)

Dass 1QJes^a tatsächlich im Yachad in Gebrauch war, zeigt die Übereinstimmung in der Handschrift des wohl dem Yachad zugehörigen Schreibers von 1QS und einiger in 1QJes^a vorgenommener Korrekturen. (11) Auch die zwischen diesen beiden Manuskripten beobachtete sprachliche Nähe weist auf eine Verbindung hin. (12)

2.2 Jesaja und die Gemeinschaft

Der Botschaft des Propheten Jesaja kommt eine zentrale Bedeutung für die Theologie des Yachad zu. (13) Die Gerichts- und die Heilsverkündigung Jesajas sind wesentlich für das theologische

(9) Tov, „Biblical Texts,“ 143, „In that case, it is justifiable to look for sectarian readings, for example, in 1QIsa^a (although I have not been able to locate them) [...]“ Vgl. aber Eugene Ulrich, „The Absence of ‘Sectarian Variants’ in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran,“ in *The Bible as Book. The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries*, hg. v. Edward Herbert und Emanuel Tov (New Castle: Oak Knoll, 2002), 192, „In short, one should rarely be convinced of sectarian motivation or theological *Tendenz* in textual variants.“

(10) Vgl. Paulson Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran. The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsa^a*, JSPE.S 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 211–215; Heinz-Josef Fabry, „Die Rezeption biblischer Texte in frühjüdischer Zeit im Licht der Qumrantexte“, in *Qumran and the Bible. Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, CBET 57, hg. v. Nóra Dávid und Armin Lange (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 124.

(11) Vgl. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 23–24; John C. Trever, „A Paleographic Study of the Jerusalem Scrolls,“ in *BASOR* 23 (1949): 15; Eibert Tigchelaar, „In Search of the Scribe of 1QS. Documents Copied or Corrected by the Scribe of 1QS,“ in *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, VTS 94/1, hg. v. Shalom M. Paul et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 440.451; Eugene Ulrich, „4QSam^c,“ in *Qumran Cave 4 XII: 1–2Samuel*, DJD 17, hg. v. Frank Moore Cross et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 248.

(12) Vgl. Moshe Henry Goshen-Gottstein, „Linguistic Structure and the Tradition in the Qumran Documents,“ in *ScriHier* 4 (1958): 131; Tigchelaar, „Search,“ in Paul et al., *Emanuel*, 451.

(13) Vgl. Christian Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung in Qumran*, AThANT 98 (Zürich: TVZ, 2010), 2.352–353; Eugene Ulrich, „Isaiah, Book of,“ *EncDSS* 387–388; Heinz-Josef Fabry, „Die Jesaja-Rolle in Qumran. Älteste Handschriften und andere spannende Entdeckungen“, in *BiKi* 61 (2006): 227; Ulrich Berges, *Jesaja. Der Prophet und das Buch*, Biblische Gestalten 22 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2010), 168–174; Peter Flint, „Interpreting the Poetry of Isaiah at Qumran. Theme and Function in the Sectarian Scrolls,“ in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Essays in Honour of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th birthday*, STDJ 98, hg. v. Jeremy Penner et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 161.

Selbstverständnis der Gemeinschaft: Die Zeit von Gericht und die Zeit von Heil ist die Zeit des Yachad. Auf seine Zeit zielt — so das Verständnis — die Verkündigung Jesajas. (14)

„Nach 1QS 8, 13–16 soll eine Trennung von den Männern des Unrechts, d.h. weg vom sündigen Jerusalem stattfinden, um in die Wüste zu gehen und dort Jhwh den Weg zu bereiten (vgl. Jes 40,3). Diese Absonderung ist nicht nur ein Weg zurück an den Anfang der Gottesbeziehung (vgl. Hos 2,17; Jer 2,2), sondern die Vorbedingung für einen gottgefälligen Kult, für das Studium der Tora und der Propheten (1QS 8, 15f.) [...] Zur Identitätsfindung diente nicht nur der Blick nach innen, sondern gleichermaßen die Abgrenzung nach außen“ (15).

Vor dem Hintergrund der Entstehungsgeschichte der Gemeinschaft erweist sich die Opposition zur damaligen religiösen Führungsschicht als elementar. Der Kontrast zwischen der Reinheit der Gemeinschaft und der Unreinheit des Kultes ist wesentlich für ihr Selbstverständnis. Charakteristikum der Gemeinde ist ihre Abgrenzung mit dem Ziel der Reinheit. In diesem Kontext ist das veränderte Verständnis von Prophetie zu betrachten. Die für das klassische Bild der Prophetie im alten Israel spezifische Dimension des kritischen Korrektivs gegenüber Volk, König und Priestern ist zurückgedrängt. „In den Qumrantexten werden solche, das eigene Volk anklagende Texte dagegen zwar gerne gebraucht — allerdings nicht als Selbstkritik der eigenen Gruppierung oder als kritisches Moment der eigenen Tradition gegenüber, sondern ausschliesslich als Polemik gegenüber den Gegnern der eigenen Gruppierung.“ (16) Auch die „Heilsbeschränkung auf die Frommen“ (17) erfährt eine Radikalisierung. Durch das exklusive Selbstverständnis der Gemeinschaft als „die Frommen“ unterscheidet sie strikt zwischen der Heilsbotschaft für den Yachad und der Gerichtsbotschaft für die Außenstehenden. „Dementsprechend werden in den untersuchten Texten Heilsworte aus dem Jesajabuch häufig auf die eigene Gruppierung eingeschränkt, Gerichtsaussagen und polemische Worte dagegen konsequent auf die Gegner der Verfasser bezogen.“ (18)

(14) Ulrich, EncDSS 384, „Authors from the Qumran community, believing that Isaiah foretold God's plan for the period in which the community lived, explicitly quoted the book as authoritative scripture, wrote commentaries on it, and even quoted it to give expression to their self-identity.“ Außerdem Berges, *Jesaja*, 172, „So wie sich Jesaja vom Weg des sündigen Volkes trennte, so sollen das auch die Mitglieder der Gemeinde von Qumran tun, denn das alte Prophetenwort war für ihre Zeit, auf das Ende der Tage hin ergangen.“

(15) Berges, *Jesaja*, 171.

(16) Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung*, 353.

(17) Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung*, 356.

(18) Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung*, 356.

Von den 21 Jesaja-Manuskripten aus Qumran zählen die meisten zur Gruppe des protomasoretischen-Textes. Für die Textüberlieferung des Verstockungsauftrags (V 9f.) und seines unmittelbaren Kontextes in Jes 6,8–13 sind neben 1QJes^a VI [VV 8–13] auch 4QJes^f [VV 3–8.10–13] und 4QJes^a [VV 4–8] von Bedeutung. (19) Die genannten Manuskripte aus Höhle 4 stehen in der Tradition des protomasoretischen Textes; nur 1QJes^a weist Merkmale der „Qumran Scribal Practice“ auf. (20) Aufgrund des stark fragmentarischen Charakters von 4QJes^f ist der Fokus im Folgenden auf die „große Jesaja-Rolle“ 1QJes^a aus der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. v.Chr. zu richten. (21) Diese ist beinahe vollständig erhalten und einer frühen Phase der Gemeinschaft zuzuweisen. (22) Der Vergleich mit 1QJes^b legt die gegenüber der protomasoretischen Tradition bestehenden Abweichungen in 1QJes^a offen. (23) Sie sind — nach Kutscher — wohl einer sekundären Bearbeitung zuzuweisen. (24) Dass sich die zentralen Varianten in keiner der übrigen Handschriften in Qumran finden, könnte ein Hinweis

(19) Vgl. Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls. Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, VT.S 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 330–557.

(20) Vgl. Tov, „Biblical Texts“, 152, „Of the fourteen Qumran manuscripts of Isaiah nine are close to MT and secondarily also to the LXX. Two texts, written in the Qumran scribal practice (1QIsa^a and 4QIsa^c) as well as 4QIsa^k are independent.“

(21) 4QJes^f weist gegenüber 1QJes^a Differenzen auf, ist aber sehr stark fragmentiert. Vgl. Armin Lange, *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und anderen Fundorten*, Band 1 des *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 270–271; Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4. X The Prophets*, DJD 15 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 104.

(22) Vgl. etwa Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, OBO 35 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 109–111; Eugene Ulrich und Peter W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1 II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants*, DJD 32 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2010); Peter Flint, „The Isaiah Scrolls from the Judean Desert“, in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah. Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, VT.S 70, hg. v. Craig C. Broyles und Craig Evans (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 481–489; Peter W. Flint, „The Book of Isaiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls“, in Herbert und Tov, *Bible as Book*, 229–251.

(23) Vgl. Eugene Ulrich, „The Fundamental Importance of the Biblical Qumran Scrolls“, in Dávid et al., *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 56. Der Vergleich mit der LXX dokumentiert darüber hinaus, dass die in 1QJes^a vorliegenden Varianten dort keine Entsprechung haben. Die LXX-Fassung von Jes geht gegenüber MT und 1QJes^a eigenständige Wege.

(24) Vgl. Edward Yechezkel Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1Q Isa^a)*, STDJ 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 2–3; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 74. Außerdem Lange, *Handschriften*, 262 sowie 280–281, „Eigenständige Handschriften haben das Bild eines einheitlich protomasoretischen Jes-Textes somit zwar relativiert, scheinen aber zumindest im Fall von 1QJes^a sekundäre Überarbeitungen des später von M bezeugten Konsonantenbestandes zu sein.“ Sowie Fabry, „Rezeption“, 124; Ulrich, „Qumran Biblical Scrolls“, 77.

darauf sein, dass sie auf den Schreiber von 1QJes^a zurückgehen und als Elemente einer intentionalen Fortschreibung der protomasoretischen Vorlage durch den Schreiber zu verstehen sind. (25) Aufgrund der Zuordnung von 1QJes^a zur Gruppe der Qumran Scribal Practice kann dieser mit guten Gründen im Kontext des Yachad angesiedelt werden.

2.3 Textüberlieferung

Z. 1	עוונך וחטאותיך תכפר 8 ואשמע את קול אדוני אמר את מי
Z. 2	אשלח ומי ילך לנו ואמרה הנני שלחני 9 ויואמר לך ואמרתה
Z. 3	לעם הזה שמעו שמוע ועל תבינו ראו ראו ועל תדעו 10 השם
Z. 4	לב העם הזה ואזוניו הכבד ועיניו השע פן יראה בעיניו
Z. 5	ובאזוניו ישמעו בלבבו יבין ורפא לו 11 ואמרה עד מתי
Z. 6	יהוה ויואמר עד אשר אם שאו ערים מאין יושב ובתים
Z. 7	מאין אדם והאדמה תשאה שממה 12 ורחק יהוה את האדם
Z. 8	ורבה עזובה בקרב הארץ 13 ועוד בה עשירה ושבה והייתה
Z. 9	לבער כאלה וכאלון אשר משלכת מצבת במה זרע הקודש
Z. 10	מצבתה

1QJes^a VI 1–10 folgt der gleichen Überlieferung wie MT. (26) Dennoch sind Differenzen zu beobachten, die in den meisten Fällen als semantisch indifferente orthographische Varianten erscheinen. (27)

(25) Insofern nur ein vermutlich kleinerer Teil der damals existierenden Handschriften und Varianten erhalten ist, bleibt dieses Argument freilich stets mit Unsicherheiten behaftet. Van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 95, „Das impliziert, dass der Verfasser nicht nur ein Kopist, sondern vor allem auch ein Schriftgelehrter war.“ Crawford, „Understanding,“ 63–64, „They [i.e. the non-aligned texts] are the product of scribal activity that drew freely on, or were influenced by, diverse older manuscripts.“ Tov, „Text,“ 48, „According to van der Kooij, the readings of this scroll [...] need to be viewed [...] as exponents of a more or less coherent exegetical system within each pericope [...]“. Ähnlich Pulikottil, *Transmission*, 211, „It has been observed that the motivations for the various scribal activities have been explicatory: to give expression to a particular view of the ancient text. Or, in other words, the scribe is trying to make a particular interpretative contribution (traditio) to the text at his disposal (traditum).“ Ein ähnlicher Befund ergibt sich auch für 11QPs^a; dazu Ulrich Dahmen, „Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum. Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran“, STDJ 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

(26) Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 341–342; Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 1 II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions*, DJD 32 (Oxford: Clarendon 2011), 12; Ulrich und Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 100. Vgl. auch Donald W. Parry und Elisha Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a). A New Edition*, STDJ 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 12. Die im Text angegebenen Zahlen markieren die Entsprechung mit den Versen der mt Überlieferung; die am Ende nummerieren die Zeilen in 1QJes^a.

(27) Zu einem Überblick vgl. Ulrich und Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 125. Zur Deutung William Hugh Brownlee, *The Meaning of The Qumran Scrolls for the Bible. With Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah* (New York: Oxford University Press,

Insbesondere bevorzugt 1QJes^a die plene-Schreibung, (28) wie sich in der gegenüber MT und 1QJes^b verbreiteteren Verwendung von Vokalbuchstaben zeigt. (29) Der Gebrauch des auslautenden ה bei Formen des ו-Imperfektes der 1. Sg. (Z. 2 V 8, Z. 5 V 11) ist für das späte biblische Hebräisch typisch. (30) Andererseits bestehen Abweichungen im Graphembestand, die sich nicht auf die Ebene der Orthographie oder Morphologie beschränken, sondern möglicherweise als echte Varianten zu betrachten sind.

Die Form אמר (Z. 1 V 8) wird man mit Geiger wie in MT als Partizip und nicht als finite Verbalform der 3. Pers. m. Sg. im Perfekt zu lesen haben. (31) Zwar könnte die fehlende plene-Schreibung auf eine Perfektform hindeuten, doch zählt Geiger eine defektive Schreibung des Partizips in den Texten vom Toten Meer in etwa einem Drittel aller Fälle. (32)

Die auffällige, zweifache Schreibung von על (Z. 3[bis] V 9) anstelle des mt אל kann als orthographische bzw. phonetische Variation oder aber als Ersetzung durch die Präposition/Konjunktion (על) erklärt werden. (33)

1964), 186, „Singly each one of these errors can be explained as accidental, but when viewed collectively they impress one as a deliberate reshaping of the text.“

(28) Vgl. ויאמר (Z. 2 V 9), ואמרתה (Z. 2 V 9), ואחזיו (Z. 4 V 10), באחזיו (Z. 5 V 10), ויאמר (Z. 6 V 11), עשיריה (Z. 8 V 13) und הקודש (Z. 9 V 13). Außerdem Ulrich und Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 26–28; Emanuel Tov, „Orthography of the Hebrew Bible,“ in *Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel und ihrer Nachgeschichte. Beiträge der 32. Internationalen Ökumenischen Konferenz der Hebräischlehrenden Frankfurt am Main 2009*, KUSATU 12.13, hg. v. Johannes Friedrich Diehl und Markus Witte (Kamen: Spinner, 2011), 185–209.

(29) Vgl. Ulrich und Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 28.

(30) Vgl. Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew. An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, SBLRBS 76 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 198–199.

(31) Vgl. Gregor Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der jüdischen Wüste*, STDJ 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), Anhang 104.126.130. Als finite Verbalform wäre — im Anschluss an ואשמע — ein ו-Imperfekt zu erwarten.

(32) Geiger, *Partizip*, 45, „In den biblischen Q[umran] R[ollen] sind von den über 1000 Partizipien im mišqal קטל, die plene- oder defektiv-Schreibung erkennen lassen, ungefähr zwei Drittel plene geschrieben“. In 1QJes^a mit seiner Vorliebe für plene-Schreibung sind immerhin noch ca. 20 von 185 Partizipien defektiv geschrieben. Die in 4QJes^a Fragment 6 Z. 4 erfolgte Korrektur durch die supralineare Einfügung eines ו zeigt, dass die Form als Partizip verstanden werden konnte. Vgl. dazu Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4*, 11; Geiger, *Partizip*, Anhang 226. 4QJes^a zählt Tov nicht zur Gruppe der Qumran-Scribal Practice. Demgegenüber ist 4QJes^f Fragmente 9–10 Z. 7 wie 1QJes^a und MT defektiv.

(33) Vgl. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 94; Ulrich und Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 29, „The letter ‘ayin replaces ‘alep in 4 cases. This is certainly the explanation of the two instances of ועל at VI 3 = 6:9 [...]“ Kutscher, *Language*, 410, „Instructive

Das Übergehen der Konjunktion ׀ bei der Imperativ-Form ראו (Z. 3 V 9) erscheint als Angleichung an die vorangehende, parallele Formulierung שמעו שמעו. (34) Durch die Aufhebung der Syndese wird vollständige Parallelität erreicht.

Die wohl bemerkenswerteste Differenz stellt das Z. 3 gegenüber MT fehlende ׀ bei הַשְׁמַן in V 10 dar. Aufgrund des materiellen Befundes ist auszuschließen, dass ein ursprünglich geschriebenes ׀ nicht erhalten bzw. lesbar ist. (35) Gegen die Lesung als השם ist die als Medialform gedeutete Gestalt des ם angeführt worden. Der Schreiber hätte den Konsonanten ׀ versehentlich nicht geschrieben. (36) Der Befund ist jedoch komplexer. Die vorliegende Form des Konsonanten ם hat Gemeinsamkeiten gleichermaßen mit Final- wie Medialformen. Zudem begegnet in 1QJes^A auch anderswo eine vergleichbare Form am Wortende. (37) Der Differenzierung von Medial- und Finalform wird man daher nicht zu viel Gewicht beimessen.

also are the אל — על substitutions [...] Most of them are apparently due to the weakening of the pharyngeal.“ Außerdem *Martin Abegg*, „The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Hebrew Syntax,“ in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls. A Canadian Collection*, SBLEJL 30, hg. v. Peter Flint et al. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 169. Zu echten und vermeintlichen א-ע Vertauschungen vgl. *Friedrich Delitzsch*, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament. Nebst den dem Schrifttexte einverleibten Randnoten klassifiziert* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1920), 123–124.

(34) Das zweimalige ראו ist formal nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen. Aufgrund der Ableitung von ראה ist zwischen dem Imperativ und dem Infinitivus Absolutus nicht zu unterscheiden. Man wird aufgrund der Parallelität — MT entsprechend — zu den vergleichbaren Formen שמעו שמעו von einem Imperativ und einem postpositiven Infinitivus Absolutus ausgehen.

(35) Der Erhaltungszustand dieses Stückes des Papyrus ist hervorragend. Es finden sich weder Verunreinigungen noch Löcher o.ä. Vgl. Ulrich et al., *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1*, 13.

(36) Vgl. dazu Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. 2. Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations. Rapport final du Comité pour l'analyse textuelle de l'Ancien Testament hébreu institué par l'Alliance Biblique Universelle*, OBO 50,2 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 40.

(37) Ulrich und Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 61, „The scribe uses medial and final forms of letters sometimes without regard to their position as medial or final [...]“ Vgl. auch Z. 7 des gleichen Fragments, wo sich wie 4QJes^f Fragment 12ii ein vergleichbares ם am Wortende findet. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4*, Plate XIX. Vgl. außerdem Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 233; Jonathan P. Siegel, „The Scribes of Qumran. Studies in the Early History of Jewish Scribal Customs. With Special Reference to the Qumran Biblical Scrolls and to the Tannaitic Traditions of Massekeheth Soferim“ (PhD diss., Brandeis University 1972), 111f.134–152. Zu einer möglichen Verbindung dieses Phänomens mit der Qumran Scribal Practice vgl. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 230–234.266.

Z. 5 V 10 fällt der Gebrauch des Plurals **ישמעו** gegenüber dem mt Singular auf. Insofern sich beide Formen auf das Volk **עם** (Z. 4 V 10) beziehen, liegt keine semantische Verschiebung vor. Näherliegend ist der Singular, wie die ebenfalls singularisch gebrauchten, parallelen Verben **יראה** und **יבין** deutlich machen. (38)

Die Schreibung **בלבבו** (Z. 5 V 10) anstelle von **ולבבו** kann gleichermaßen als intentionale Textveränderung oder als Versehen des Schreibers gedeutet werden, der das **ו** nicht als präfigierte Konjunktion zu **בלבבו**, sondern als Pluralendung an das vorangehende **ישמעו** angefügt und die Präposition **ב** eingefügt hätte. (39)

Die Gottesbezeichnung **אֱלֹהֵי** ist Z. 6 V 11 durch **יהוה** ersetzt. (40) Z. 8 V 12 fehlt der Artikel bei **הַעֲזוּבָה**. Die Schreibung von **וְהָיְתָה** mit **י** zur Bezeichnung von konsonantischem **י** als **וְהָיְתָה** (Z. 8 V 13) ist verbreitete Praxis in Qumran, meist in den Texten der Qumran Scribal Practice. (41)

Eine weitere Variante findet sich Z. 9 V 13 mit **משלכת** anstelle von **בְּשִׁלְכָתָהּ**. (42) Diese Form ist vermutlich als Partizip Hof'al zu bestimmen. Darüber hinaus fällt das der präpositionalen Wendung **במה** vorausgehende überbreite Spatium auf, das wohl einen syntaktischen Einschnitt markiert. (43) Formal ist **במה** als für die Qumran Scribal Practice typische Langform des Suffixes der 3. Pers. m. Pl. an

(38) Vgl. die Tendenz im späten biblischen Hebräisch **עם** als Kollektivbegriff mit Plural zu konstruieren; dazu Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 83.

(39) Vgl. Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 68. Aufgrund der Parallelität zu **בעניניו** (Z. 4 V 10) und **ובאוניו** (Z. 5 V 10) hat die Lesart von 1QJes^a als *lectio facilior* zu gelten. Letztlich handelt es sich um ein Phänomen der Wortabgrenzung.

(40) Insofern dieses Phänomen in 1QJes^a häufig zu beobachten ist (in 8 von 26 Belegen von **אֱלֹהֵי** in MT), spiegelt sich hier ein regelhaftes Muster wider. Ulrich und Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2*, 39.

(41) Vgl. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 61–63, mit Verweis auf die weiteren Belege in 1QJes^a.

(42) Arie van der Kooij, „Stump or Stalk: Isaiah 6:13 in the Light of the Ancient Versions,“ in *JNWSL* 40 (2014): 18. Zu Schreibfehlern im AT mit **מ** an Stelle von **ב** vgl. Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, 113.

(43) Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 100, „The small interval before this word indicates that the m[anuscript] intends **במה** as the first word of what follows, as opposed to the M^L interpretation.“ Außerdem Evans, *To see*, 56–58; Lange, *Handschriften*, 262, „Die textgraphische Gliederung von 1QJes^a markiert Hauptabschnitte dabei nur durch die Kombination von freiem Zeilenende und neuer Zeile, während Unterabschnitte durch ein großes Spatium in der Zeile oder einen Absatzeinzug am Zeilenbeginn signalisiert werden.“ John Sawyer, „The Qumran Reading of Isaiah 6,13,“ in *ASTI* 3 (1964): 111.

der Präposition **ב** zu bestimmen. (44) Durch die Einfügung des Artikels (**זרע הקודש** Z. 9 V 13) erhält das adjektivisch gebrauchte Substantiv **קֹדֶשׁ** und damit die Constructus-Verbindung eine Determination („der Same des Heiligen“). (45) Ob sich damit semantische und/oder syntaktische Differenzen verbinden, ist nicht sicher zu entscheiden. (46) Zugleich legt diese Beobachtung in Verbindung mit dem überbreiten Spatium, das einen syntaktischen Einschnitt markiert, eine alternative Verständnismöglichkeit nahe. Die Konsonantenfolge **זרע** ist nicht als Nomen, sondern als Verbalform zu betrachten. Der Satz ist ein Verbsatz: **הקודש** erweist sich als Subjekt, **מצבתה** als Objekt.

Diese Differenzen sind — betrachtet man sie je einzeln — als orthographische, phonetische Varianten oder als Schreibversehen erklärbar. In ihrer Zusammenschau erweisen sie sich jedoch als semantisch und syntaktisch relevante Befunde und führen zu einer neuen, konsistenten Interpretation. (47) Man wird daher mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen haben, dass die Varianten tatsächlich auf die schriftgelehrte Tätigkeit des Abschreibers im Sinne eines Theologen zurückgehen. Aufgrund der Multivalenz und der Ambiguität der nicht-vokalisierten Formen ist in der Formbestimmung — vor dem Hintergrund der Eigenständigkeit der biblischen Schriften der Qumran Scribal Practice — nicht vorschnell vom MT auf 1QJes^a zu schließen. 1QJes^a soll nicht als Zeuge des mt Textes gelesen werden, sondern im Kontext der Überlieferungen vom Toten Meer. (48) In den Blick zu nehmen sind insbesondere folgende Differenzen: (49) die doppelte Schreibung von

(44) Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 7–11; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 268; Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 72.

(45) Vgl. Walter Kornfeld in Walter Kornfeld und Helmer Ringgren, „קֹדֶשׁ“, in *ThWAT* 6 (1989), 1186. Zur Plene-Schreibung von **קֹדֶשׁ** in der Qumran Scribal Practice vgl. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 49. Sawyer, „Qumran Reading,“ 112–113 deutet **במה** dagegen als Verbindung der Präposition **ב** mit dem Interrogativum **מה**.

(46) Vgl. Kutscher, *Language*, 411–412; Odil Hannes Steck, *Die erste Jesajarolle von Qumran (1QIs^a)*. Textheft, SBS 173/2 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998), 9.

(47) Vgl. etwa Brownlee, *Meaning*, 185–188; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle II*, 40; Evans, *To see*, 55–56; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 84–85; Jean Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe*, VTS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 316–319; Pulikottil, *Transmission*, 178–179.212. Zur Analyse Pulikottil, *Transmission*, 139–141; Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 68–72.

(48) Vgl. auch Shemaryahu Talmon, „DSIa As a Witness to Ancient Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah,“ in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, hg. v. Frank Moore Cross und Shemaryahu Talmon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 119.

(49) Brownlee, *Meaning*, 186.188, „Some alterations in the scroll are of such an involved character that they are explicable only as deliberate emendations. [...] The subtle accommodations of Isa. 6:9–10 to such widely separated passages as

על anstelle von אל (Z. 3 V 9), das gegenüber הַשָּׁמַיִם fehlende ך (Z. 3 V 10), die syntaktische Verschiebung durch eine unterschiedliche Zuweisung des ך von וַיִּלְכְּבוּ יִשְׁמַעֲלֵם zu יִשְׁמַעֲלֵם בִּלְכְּבוּ (Z. 5 V 10) mit der Einfügung der Präposition ב, die Partizipialform מְשַׁלַּח an Stelle von בְּשַׁלְּחָה (Z. 9 V 13) und das überbreite Spatium vor בְּמָה mit dem Gebrauch des Artikels הַקֹּדֶשׁ (Z. 9 V 13).

2.4 Übersetzung

- V 8 Und ich hörte die Stimme meines Herrn, der sagt:
Wen soll ich senden? Und wer wird für uns gehen?
Und ich sagte:
Hier bin ich. Sende mich!
- V 9 Und er sagte:
Geh und sage zu diesem Volk:
„Hört genau hin, weil ihr verstehen werdet!
Seht genau hin, weil ihr einsehen werdet!“
- V 10 Verstöre das Herz dieses Volkes!
Und seine Ohren mache schwer
und seine Augen verklebe,
damit es nicht sieht mit seinen Augen
und mit seinen Ohren nicht hört.
Mit seinem Herz soll es verstehen und es soll umkehren und
sich heilen.
- V 11 Und ich sagte:
Bis wann, JHWH?
Und er sagte:
bis, dass
die Städte verödet sind — ohne Bewohner
und die Häuser — ohne Mensch
[und bis, dass]
das Wohnland verödet ist
- V 12 — JHWH wird nämlich die Menschheit entfernen und
Verlassenheit im Land mehren —
- V 13 [und bis, dass] noch ein Zehntel darin ist,
und es wird umkehren oder zur Feuerung dienen.
Wie eine Terebinthe oder Eiche, deren Stamm geworfen/entblättert
ist.
Durch sie hat der Heilige seinen Sprössling gesät.

Hosea 5:15–6:1 and Isa. 33:15 are explicable only as the product of clear and *purposeful* alterations on the part of a scribe of profound Biblical scholarship.“ Arie Rubinstein, „The Theological Aspect of Some Variant Readings in the Isaiah Scroll,“ in *JJS* 6 (1955): 187, „These readings, whether original or not, are without exception meaningful and therefore not improbably deliberate.“

2.5 Philologische Überlegungen und Deutung

Eine bedeutsame Variante findet sich im zweifachen Gebrauch von על anstelle des mit אל in Z. 3(bis) V 9. Insofern eine lokale oder direktionale/adversative Präposition keine Deutung zu erlauben scheint, wird meist auf eine indifferente phonetische Variante geschlossen. Andererseits verfügt על über ein breites semantisches Spektrum. „The preposition על can also be used to denote a causal clause, either alone or in conjunction with כי or אֲשֶׁר.“ (50) Versteht man ועל als kausale Konjunktion, löst sich die satzinterne paradoxe Spannung der mit Fassung. Die Aufforderung zu hören bzw. zu sehen wird in der Möglichkeit bzw. in der iterativen oder zukünftigen Tatsache des Verstehens begründet. (51)

Der Aufforderung, am Herz des Volkes zu handeln, liegt nicht — wie in MT — die Wurzel שמן sondern שמם (Hif'il Imp. m.Sg.) zu Grunde. (52) Für das Hif'il werden von den Wörterbüchern folgende Bedeutungen angegeben: „jemanden schaudern lassen“, „mit Entsetzen erfüllen“, „verwüsten“ (53) bzw. „menschenleer, verödet machen“, „Menschen verstören“, „aus der Fassung bringen“. (54) Eine Verbindung der Wurzel שמם mit לב ist nur noch in Ps 143,4 belegt, in Qumran

(50) Bill T. Arnold und John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 178; Brownlee, *Meaning*, 186, „Instead of the particle 'al meaning 'not,' we find 'al which may mean 'because.'“ Vgl. außerdem Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik. Völlig umgearbeitet von E. Kautzsch. Facsimile der Siloah-Inschrift beigelegt von J. Euting, Schrifttafel von M. Lidzbarski*, 28. Auflage (Hildesheim: Olms, 1995), §158b 516; Rudolf Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Berlin: de Gruyter 1992), §102,3 400; §120 447; Paul Joüon und Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, SubBi 27 (Rom: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2006), §170h 600; Walter Baumgartner und Ludwig Koehler, „על“, in *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3. Auflage [= HALAT] (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 782; Wilhelm Gesenius, „על“, in *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 18. Auflage [= Ges¹⁸] (Berlin: Springer, 2012), 965. Max Budie, *Die hebräische Präposition על* (Halle 1882), 27.

(51) Vgl. bspw. Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 68 sowie die Belege in Anmerkung 57.

(52) Vgl. zu dieser Ableitung Meir Wallenstein, „Some Aspects of the Vocabulary and Morphology of the Hymns of the Judean Scrolls,“ in *VT* 7 (1957): 212–213; Brownlee, *Meaning*, 186; Evans, *To see*, 54–55, „It would seem to be the most likely option to understand השם in 1QIsa.^a 6.4 (MT 6,10) as a hiphil imperative, and as a deliberate scribal alteration.“ Vgl. auch Jesper Hoegenhaven, „The First Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIs^a) and the Massoretic Text. Some Reflections with Special Regard to Isaiah 1–12,“ in *JSTOT* 28 (1984): 29; Roman Kühschelm, *Verstockung, Gericht und Heil. Exegetische und bibeltheologische Untersuchung zum sogenannten Dualismus und Determinismus in Joh 12,35–50, BBB 76* (Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1990), 78–79. Die theoretisch ebenfalls mögliche Ableitung von השם als ein Qal Ptz. m.Sg. mit Artikel ist aus syntaktischen Gründen gänzlich unwahrscheinlich.

(53) Gesenius, „שמם“, in Ges¹⁸, 1380.

(54) Baumgartner und Koehler, „שמם“, in HALAT, 1448.

in 1QH^a XV, 6 [VII, 3]; (55) 1QH^a XXI, 6 [XVIII, 20]; 4Q510(Shir^a) 1,6 sowie 11QPs^a=Ps 143,4 (לְבִי יִשְׁתוֹמֵם). Sie kann daher nicht als exzeptionell gelten; für die Deutung ist der weitere Kontext in Rechnung zu stellen, in dem der Auftrag an den Propheten eine Zielangabe erfährt.

Durch die Ersetzung der Konjunktion וְ durch die Präposition בּ in בְּלִבְבוֹ (Z. 5 V 10) wird die Syndese aufgehoben und es ist ein syntaktischer Neuansatz zu beobachten: „Mit seinem Herzen soll es verstehen [...]“ Das Imperfekt יִבִּין bildet mit den beiden nachfolgenden וְ-Perfekten eine eigene konsistente syntaktische Einheit, die in ihrer dreigliedrigen Struktur (erkennen, umkehren, heilen) eine Heilsperspektive eröffnet. Im Anschluss an Brownlee übersetzt Barthel: (56)

„[...] hört nur, weil ihr verstehen könnt, seht nur, weil ihr erkennen könnt! Verstöre das Herz dieses Volkes, verstopfe seine Ohren und seine Augen wende ab — damit es mit seinen Augen nicht sieht und mit seinen Ohren nicht hört. Mit seinem Herzen verstehe es und bekehre sich und werde geheilt.“ (57)

Die Verstörung des Herzens, das Verstopfen der Ohren und das Verkleben der Augen zielen auf ein neues Verstehen des Herzens und damit auf eine Umkehr und eine Heilung des Volkes.

Durch die zweifache Ersetzung von אֶל durch עַל löst 1QJes^a zwar die paradoxe Spannung in V 9, dennoch ist der Gesamtzusammenhang nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten. Eine Spannung bleibt zwischen der Aufforderung zu hören und zu sehen mit der Feststellung der grundsätzlichen Möglichkeit einerseits (V 9) und der Verunmöglichung des Hörens und Sehens (V 10) andererseits. Hierfür ist eine Differenzierung des Objektes weiterführend. Obgleich die Konstruktion jeweils absolut erfolgt, erscheinen implizit bestimmte Objekte der Wahrnehmung vorausgesetzt. „Dans ce contexte, le début du vs 10 est compris dans les sens de ce qui sera présenté en Is 33,15b comme le comportement du juste [...]“ (58) Während in V 9 die Verkündigung des Propheten, das

(55) Hartmut Stegemann et al., *1QHodayot^a. With incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{c-f}*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

(56) Vgl. Brownlee, *Meaning*, 186–187.

(57) Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 68 mit im Einzelnen abweichenden syntaktischen Bewertungen. Außerdem Beuken, *Jesaja 1–12*, 165; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 84–85; Koenig, *Herméneutique*, 316–319; Evans, *To see*, 53–60; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle II*, 39–41.

(58) Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 40; Brownlee, *Meaning*, 187; van der Kooij, *Textzeugen*, 85; Koenig, *Herméneutique*, 319, „Is 33,15 a vraisemblablement été inspiré par Is 6 et constitue une sorte de commentaire édifiant.“ Evans, *To see*, 56; Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 68.

Gottes-Wort als Gegenstand der Wahrnehmung und des Verstehens anzunehmen ist, hat V 10 das Verhalten des Gerechten im Blick, der sich nach Ausweis von Jes 33,15 u.a. dadurch auszeichnet, dass er „sein Ohr verstopft, damit er nichts hört von Bluttaten, und seine Augen verschließt, damit er nichts Böses sieht (שָׁמוֹעַ דְּמִים וְעֵינָיו)“ (59) Dabei spiegelt sich in den Handlungen des Gerechten nicht nur die Verweigerung der Kenntnisnahme des Unrechts, sondern die Weigerung, sich daran zu beteiligen. „Das Verb ראה, ‚sehen‘, meint in Verbindung mit dieser Präposition [i.e. ב] die Beteiligung an und das Einverständnis mit dem Gesehenen [...]“ (60) Der Gerechte distanziert sich von jedem Unrecht. Dieses Verständnis von V 10 spiegelt sich in 1QH XV, 6 [VII, 2f.] wider: (61)

שָׁמוֹעַ עֵינֵי מִרְאוֹת רָע
וְאוֹזְנִי מִשְׁמוֹעַ דְּמִים
הַשֵּׁם לִבִּי מִמַּחֲשַׁבֵּת רָע

Blind sind meine Augen, (62) damit sie nicht Böses sehen,
und meine Ohren, damit sie nicht Bluttaten hören.
Mein Herz ist erschauert vor bösen Gedanken. (63)

Die hier vorgeschlagene Übersetzung der Präposition מִן + Inf. constr. ist nicht unumstritten, insofern sie gleichermaßen „weil“ oder aber „(so) daß nicht“, „damit nicht“ (64) bedeuten kann. Der ersten Variante scheinen derzeit die meisten Übersetzungen zu folgen, (65)

(59) Willem A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja 28–39*, HThK.AT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2010), 259.

(60) Beuken, *Jesaja 28–39*, 286.

(61) Vgl. Brownlee, *Meaning*, 186–187; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle II*, 40; Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 68. Zur Rezeption biblischer Texte in 1QH vgl. Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

(62) Zur Ableitung der Form שָׁמוֹעַ von der Wurzel שָׁמַע und nicht von שָׁמַע vgl. Menahem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns. Translated and Annotated. With an Introduction*, STDJ 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 148; Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot. Psalms from Qumran*, ATHD 2 (Jaegersborg: Universitetsforlaget i Aarhus, 1960), 122–123.

(63) Die Verbalform הָשָׁמַע wird als Hof'al Perf. der 3. Pers. m. Sg. verstanden. Vgl. Mansoor, *Hymns*, 148. Die Bestimmung als Perfekt wird auch für 1QH XXI, 5f. vorgeschlagen. Freilich wäre auch ein Imp. Hif'il — wie in 1QJes^A — möglich.

(64) Gesenius, „מִן“, in Ges¹⁸, 694.

(65) Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 103.122–123; Mansoor, *Hymns*, 148; Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran. Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 139; Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 342–343; Johann Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer. Band 1: Die Texte der Höhlen 1–3 und 5–11* (München: Reinhardt, 1995), 85; Florentino García Martínez und Eibert Tigchelaar,

während auch einige Ausleger die zweite, hier vertretene Lesart annehmen. (66) Die Konstruktion in Jes 33,15 ist identisch und wird allgemein im Sinne dieser zweiten Deutung gelesen. (67) Das Verschließen von Augen und Ohren ist nicht Konsequenz des wahrgenommen Unrechts; es zielt (in beiden Texten) auf eine Distanzierung davon. „Brownlee concludes that ‘from this passage the words ‘evil’ and ‘murder’ were drawn by the hymn writer as the unexpressed (but understood) objects of the verbs in Isa. 6.10’.“ (68) Folgt man dieser Argumentation, erweist sich nicht die Distanzierung gegenüber der göttlichen und vom Propheten vermittelten Botschaft als Voraussetzung für das Heilsgeschehen, sondern die Distanzierung von jeglichem Unrecht.

Die Belege, die von einer Verstörung des Herzens sprechen, stehen jeweils im Kontext der Gottesbeziehung und der Frage nach dem Heil. In der Anerkennung der Sündhaftigkeit (Ps 143,4), (69) der Wirksamkeit des Belial in der Menschheit (1QH XV, 6 [VII, 2f.]) bzw. der menschlichen Schwachheit (1QH XXI, 6 [XVIII, 20]) geschieht eine Verstörung des Herzens, die den Weg zu einer neuen Zuwendung zu Gott eröffnet. Erscheinen Dämonen als Subjekt des Verstörens, zielt deren Handlung nicht auf Heil, sondern auf Verderben (4Q510[Shir^a] 1,6). In diesem Sinne lässt sich das Motiv auch 1QJes^a deuten. Im Hören und Sehen der Botschaft des Propheten, die auf Verstehen zielt (V 9), gründet die Verstörung des Herzens, (70) die dann ein gerechtes Verhalten durch eine Distanzierung von Unrecht und Gewalt, Umkehr, Bekehrung und Heilung ermöglicht. Bemerkenswert ist, dass sich der auf das Herz

The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 176–177; Stegemann et al., *1QHodayot^a*, 214.

(66) Meir Wallenstein, „A Striking Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls,“ in *BJRL* 38 (1955): 264; Brownlee, *Meaning*, 187; Mathias Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot). Texte Hébreu — Introduction — Traduction — Commentaire*, AuBib (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 185; Koenig, *Herméneutique*, 319; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle II*, 40; Evans, *To see*, 56; wohl auch Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 68. Diese gehen für שׁעו jedoch von einem modal gebrauchten Infinitiv aus.

(67) Es besteht ein weitgehender Konsens, dass 1QH XV, 6 [VII, 2f] von Jes 6,9f. — in der Variante von 1QJes^a — beeinflusst ist. Vgl. Wallenstein, „Aspects,“ 213.

(68) Evans, *To see*, 56; Delcor, *Hymnes*, 185–186.

(69) Der Beter bittet Gott V 2, in seiner Vergänglichkeit und Schwachheit gerichtet zu werden. In der Anerkennung der eigenen Situation, in der Erfahrung der Not verzagt der Geist des Beters und erstarrt das Herz (יִתְחַשְׁשׁוּ עָלַי רוּחִי בְחוּכִי יִשְׁחַדּוּנִי V 4). Frank-Lothar Hossfeld in Frank-Lothar Hossfeld und Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, HThK.AT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2000), 767.

(70) Insofern בּל das (rationale) Zentrum des Menschen bezeichnet, wird man hier das Motiv einer heilsamen Desillusionierung und einer Brechung des Selbstbewusstseins hin zur Orientierungslosigkeit ausgehen müssen. Koenig, *Herméneutique*, 318, „La rac. שׁמם s’applique à la désolation d’un paysage, en son acception fondamentale. Mais elle est aussi susceptible d’exprimer la désolation des humains, originellement à la vue d’un tel paysage, puis, indépendamment, au sens fort de désarroi et stupeur désolée.“

bezogene Versteil syntaktisch von den beiden auf Ohren und Augen bezogenen Versteilen unterscheidet. Die Verstörung des Herzens und die Distanzierung von Unrecht erscheinen als Voraussetzung der Bekehrung. Es geht um eine Verstörung des Herzens des Volkes, das dieses zur Umkehr (Z. 5 V 10) bewegen soll. (71)

Das von Gott vollzogene umfassende Gericht erhält nach Ausweis von V 11f. eine zeitliche Befristung. Die Radikalität erscheint dadurch ebenso wie durch die Verheißung eines übrigbleibenden Restes abgemildert. Ein Zehntel des Volkes wird übrig bleiben und erhält die Möglichkeit, sich zu bekehren und auf diese Weise der Vernichtung zu entgehen (ושבה והייתה לבער Z. 8f. V 13). Die Frage Jesajas (V 11a) zielt auf die Dauer des göttlichen Gerichtshandelns. Insofern in V 9f. keine Gerichtsankündigung formuliert wird, sind die folgenden Aussagen auf eine gegenwärtige Realität zu beziehen. Das Gericht ist nicht zukünftig, sondern gegenwärtig. In der anschließenden Gottesrede VV 11b.12.13a^a begrenzt Gott das Geschehen der Verödung des Landes aufgrund der fehlenden Bewohnerschaft in zeitlicher Hinsicht (עד אשר אם). Mit V 13a^b wird ein Wendepunkt erreicht, mit dem eine Alternative eröffnet wird: (72) Als Subjekt der beiden Verbalformen (ושבה) (והייתה לבער) ist das unmittelbar vorangehend genannte „Zehntel“ (עשיריה) dieses Volkes zu betrachten: (73) „[...] es wird umkehren (ושבה) oder es wird zur Feuerung dienen (והייתה לבער)“ (74). Das gegenwärtige Gericht erstreckt sich bis zu einem bestimmten Punkt, an dem

(71) Ein möglicherweise vergleichbares Beispiel für eine derartige pädagogische Verstörung findet sich in Hos 5,15–6,1 (Hans Walter Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 1. Hosea*, BK.AT 14/1, 2. Auflage [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965], 148–149; Eberhard Bons, *Das Buch Hosea*, NSK.AT 23/1 [Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996], 89–90) bzw. Ez 20,26 (Koenig, *Herméneutique*, 318, „désolation‘ providentiellement éducative“; Franz Sedlmeier, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, NSK.AT 21 [Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002], 292; vgl. aber Moshe Greenberg, *Ezechiel 1–20*, HThK.AT [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2001], 432). Brownlee, *Meaning*, 187–188, „In this text we find the verbal sequence of *appall*, *return* (or *repent*), and *heal*, exactly as occurs in the scroll text of Isa. 6:9–10.“

(72) Vgl. Gesenius, „י“, in Ges¹⁸, 289, im Sinne von „oder“.

(73) Das nächste mögliche Bezugswort ist עשיריה; es besteht kein Anlass, einen weitergehenden Bezug anzunehmen. Anders etwa Barthel, *Prophetenwort*, 70; Beuken, *Jesaja 1–12*, 162. Das Verständnis von ושב as Modalverb gründet in der Annahme, dass אדם das zu Grunde liegende Subjekt sei. שוב erscheint als reguläres Verbum mit vollem semantischen Gewicht. Es knüpft terminologisch an V 9 an. Anders John Adney Emerton, „The Translation and Interpretation of Isaiah vi. 13,“ in *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible. Essays in Honour of E. I. J. Rosenthal*, Oriental Publications 32, hg. v. John Adney Emerton und Stefan C. Reif (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 86, „[...] here it is most likely used as an auxiliary verb meaning ‘again’, or rather ‘in turn.’“ Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik*, §120d 403; Joüon und Muraoka, *Grammar*, §177b.650.

(74) Vgl. auch Jes 44,15 (Gesenius, „בער I“, in Ges¹⁸, 164–165; Ulrich Berges, *Jesaja 40–48*, HThK.AT [Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2008], 347–348). Meist wird

eine Entscheidung des verbleibenden Restes — eines Zehntels — dieses Volkes möglich sein wird. Der V 11b von den Partikeln **עַד אֲשֶׁר אָם** eröffnete Temporal- bzw. Konditionalsatz reicht bis V 13aa. (75) In diesem konditionalen Gefüge sind strukturelle Unterschiede zu beobachten. V 12 ist von JHWH in der 3. Pers. m. Sg. als Handlungssubjekt die Rede. Demgegenüber sind VV 11.13aa Städte, Häuser und das Wohnland (V 11) sowie ein Teil der Bewohnerschaft (V 13) Subjekt. Von JHWH ist hier nicht die Rede. Inhaltlich wird der Abschnitt durch das gemeinsame Motiv der „fehlenden Bewohnerschaft“ zusammengehalten, so dass sie sich als einheitliche Formulierung verstehen lassen. Bemerkenswert ist, dass V 12 in der Tragweite seiner Aussagen nicht über V 11 hinausreicht und vielmehr erläuternden Charakter hat: Einzig JHWH als Urheber der Katastrophe wird in den Text eingeführt. (76) V 12 erscheint als erläuternder Einschub. V 13aa ist Teil des Satzgefüges VV 11b–13aa und die unmittelbarere Fortführung von V 11 als V 12.

Die größeren Schwierigkeiten ergeben sich — obgleich die Aufmerksamkeit meist auf V 9f. liegt — bei der Analyse der Differenzen von Z. 8–10 V 13. Insbesondere V 13b erfordert sorgfältige Überlegungen. Die Partikel **כִּי** führt den Vergleich ein und weist Terebinthe und Eiche als Vergleichsgegenstand aus, (77) der durch einen Relativsatz (**אֲשֶׁר מִשְׁלַכְתָּ מִצֵּבֶת**) näher bestimmt wird. Bei der Form **מִשְׁלַכְתָּ** wird man von einem Ptz. f. Sg. im Hif'il oder Hof'al auszugehen haben, (78) welches das nachfolgende Subjekt des Nominalsatzes

die Form jedoch von **בָּעֵר** II „beseitigen, wegschaffen, abweiden, kahl fressen“ abgeleitet. Vgl. etwa Uhlig, „Motif,“ 82; Emerton, „Translation,“ 87.105.

(75) Vgl. dazu und im Folgenden Dominik Helms, „Verstockung, Gericht und Heil in Jes 6,8–13“, in *Antijudaismen in der Exegese? Eine Diskussion 50 Jahre nach Nostra Aetate*, hg. v. Stefan Schreiber und Thomas Schumacher (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2014). Außerdem Heinrich Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes I* (Stuttgart: Krabbe 1840), 183–184; Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, HK (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892), 48. Anders Eduard König, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926), 96.

(76) Zum Wechsel der Perspektive vgl. auch Eduard König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik. In Bezug auf die Biblische Literatur* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1900), 248–256.

(77) Offen muss bleiben, ob eine bestimmte (determinierte) Eiche bzw. Terebinthe im Blick ist. Aufgrund der fehlenden Sichtbarkeit der Determination in unvokalisierten Texten in Verbindung mit einer präfigierten Präposition ist eine Entscheidung nicht möglich.

(78) Auch Ptz. Qal f. Sg. + Präp. **מִן** oder Ptz. Pi'el f. Sg. / Ptz. Pu'al f. Sg. (Defektiv geschrieben?) wäre möglich. Gegen eine Pluralform spricht die zu erwartende plene-Schreibung. Insofern **שֶׁלֶךְ** regulär im H-Stamm konstruiert wird, liegt die vorgeschlagene Variante jedoch nahe. Aus inhaltlichen Erwägungen ist die Deutung als Hof'al dem Hif'il vorzuziehen. Vgl. auch Emerton, *Translation*, 100–101. Letztlich korrespondiert diese Entscheidung mit der disjunktiven Deutung der Präposition **וְ** in Z. 9 V 13. Vgl.

מצבה klassifiziert: „hingeworfen ist der Stamm“. In diesem Sinne wird man מצבה, das „Stumpf“ oder „Stamm“ bedeutet, mit der Wurzel שלך verbinden können, (79) die neben „werfen, wegwerfen, verwerfen“ und dem „abwerfen von Blättern eines Baumes“ (80) auch „entweihen“ meinen kann. In dieser Bedeutung begegnet sie Dan 8,11 in Bezug auf das Heiligtum. (81)

Diese Multivalenz ist möglicherweise vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte des Yachad weiterführend, insofern sie wesentlich vom Gegensatz zwischen dem Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit und dem Frevelpriester, der repräsentativ für den Jerusalemer Kult steht, geprägt ist. Der Baum ist entweiht; er erscheint als Metapher für den Tempel und das mit diesem verbundene Gottesvolk.

Für זרע ist neben einer Deutung als Nominalform auch ein Verständnis als Verbalform (etwa Qal Perf. 3. Pers. m. Sg. „er hat gesät“) in Betracht zu ziehen. Aufgrund des überbreiten Spatiums in 1QJES^A vor der suffigierten Präposition ב ist diese als Auftakt zu V 13bβ zu ziehen und instrumental zu verstehen. הקודש erscheint nicht als nomen rectum zu זרע sondern als Subjekt; (82) מצבתה ist Objekt.

Aufgrund der breiten Funktionalität von auslautendem ה- ist eine eindeutige Einordnung problematisch. Im vorliegenden Kontext ist weder eine adverbelle noch eine lokale/direktionale Verwendung sinnvoll. Liest man ein Suffix, ist das Nomen im Singular anzunehmen. (83)

auch van der Kooij, „Stump or Stalk,“ 22, „As stated above, the idea that שלכת to the ‘felling’ of trees has no parallel in Classical Hebrew. ... I therefor would propose to take the word שלכת in the sense of ‘loss of foliage’.“

(79) Die Ambiguität des Begriffs spiegelt sich auch in den Lexika wider. Während Wilhelm Gesenius, „מצבה Wurzel נצב“, in *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853–1858), 904 „truncus arboris“ (Stamm des Baumes) angibt, bieten andere Wörterbücher zur Stelle „Baumstumpf, Wurzelstock“ (Gesenius, „מצבה und מצצת“, in Ges¹⁸, 722) oder „frühere Übersetzung ‚Wurzelstock‘ fraglich; entweder d[er] kahle Stamm nach Verbrennen d[es] Gezweigs [...] od[er] ‚neues Gewächs[...]'“ (Baumgartner und Koehler, „מצבת“, in HALAT, 587).

(80) Vgl. dazu van der Kooij, „Stump or Stalk,“ 22 mit Verweis auf Ijob 15,33. Im Blick ist ein Baum, der aufgrund einer langanhaltenden Dürre seine Blätter verloren hat.

(81) Vgl. Baumgartner und Koehler, „שלך“, in HALAT, 1416; van der Kooij, „Stump or Stalk,“ 23.

(82) Vgl. aber Joseph R. Rosenbloom, *The Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll: A Literary Analysis. A Comparison with the Masoretic Text and the Biblia Hebraica* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 14.

(83) Ansonsten wäre ein * als Plural-Marker zu erwarten. Vgl. Joüon und Muraoka, *Grammar*, §94 287–288. Im aramäischen Sprachkontext wäre auch ein Verständnis als Pluralform möglich.

Neben dem femininen ist auch ein maskulines Suffix möglich. Zwar lautet dieses im klassischen Hebräischen meist ך, doch es finden sich in der BHS 55 Beispiele — davon drei in Jes (15,3; 16,7; 39,2) —, (84) die eine Schreibung mit ה bieten, (85) wie es im Aramäischen der Normalfall ist. Auch im Korpus der DSS findet sich diese Schreibweise. (86)

Folgt man den vorangehenden Ausführungen, führt dies auf folgende Wiedergabe: „Durch sie hat der Heilige seine מצבה gesät.“ Das Suffix bezieht sich auf „den Heiligen“ als maskulines Subjekt des Satzes. „Der Heilige“ ist nach Ausweis der Qualifikation im zweifachen Heiligruf der Serafen (Jes 6,3) Gott. (87) Durch die doppelte Bezeichnung JHWHs als „heilig“ wird die Heiligkeit als seine bestimmende und entscheidende Eigenschaft gekennzeichnet. (88) Er ist der Handelnde. Er sät. Die Verbindung des Objektes מצבה, „Stumpf“ oder „Stamm“ oder auch „Massebe“ mit dem Verb זרע („säen“) ist problematisch. Eine Deutungsmöglichkeit bietet die von Köhler und Baumgartner angeführte aramäisch beeinflusste Bedeutung „neues Gewächs“. (89) Diese Leseweise geht von einer in zweisprachigen Kontexten erkläraren Ambiguität des Wortes מצבה aus. (90) In einer *semantischen traductio*

(84) Der Beleg in Dan 11,10 verweist darauf, dass es kein ausschließlich frühes Phänomen sein kann. Vgl. auch Ian Young, „Observations on the Third Person Masculine Singular Pronominal Suffix -H in Hebrew Biblical Texts,“ in *HebStud* 42 (2001): 228–229.

(85) Zum Suffix ה- der 3. Pers. m. Sg. vgl. Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik*, §91 265; Joüon und Muraoka, *Grammar*, §94 285–286; Geoffrey Khan, „Pronominal Suffixes,“ *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, hg. v. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 269; Ian Young, *Diversity in Pre-exilic Hebrew*, FAT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 126.

(86) Vgl. etwa Martin G. Abegg, „The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls,“ in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years. Volume I*, hg. v. Peter Flint und James C. van der Kam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 333 mit Verweis auf 4Q 266 (DJD 18); aber Qimron, *Hebrew*, 59.

(87) Jacobus A. Naudé, *Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, in Flint und van der Kam, *Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years II*, 191, „The noun קודש is utilized in some cases as a descriptive injunction not to mention God’s name. [...] קודש is used to avoid abuse of such proper names (notably ‘Yahweh’). [...] Where the noun קודש is used with the article it depicts God as the Holy One.“ Vgl. dazu CD 6, 1; 20, 22. Zum biblischen Hintergrund vgl. Helmer Ringgren, *ThWAT* 6, 1200.

(88) Vgl. Beuken, *Jesaja 1–12*, 171. 1QJes^a bietet anders als MT nur zwei Belege des Heilig-Rufes.

(89) Baumgartner und Koehler, „מצבה“, in HALAT, 587; im Hintergrund steht die aramäische Bedeutung „pflanzen“.

(90) Zum aramäischen Einfluss im späten biblischen Hebräisch und im Qumran Hebräisch vgl. Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, übers. v. John Elwolde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 133–134; Aaron Hornkohl, „Biblical Hebrew: Periodization,“ *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, hg. v. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 321; Jan Joosten, „Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek in the Qumran Scrolls,“ in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, hg.

wird zunächst die Bedeutung „Stamm, Stumpf“ aufgenommen, die durch eine göttliche Intervention (das Säen des „Heiligen“) zur Bedeutung „neues Gewächs, Sprössling“ überleitet. (91) Das damit entworfene Bild liegt der Sache nach auch in Hiob 14,7–9 vor. (92)

Der Vergleich zielt auf den Prozess der Verödung und Vernichtung bis hin zu einem kleinen Rest, für den — abhängig von Gott — die Möglichkeit der Umkehr besteht. Durch den „hingeworfenen“ bzw. „entblätterten Stamm“ hat JHWH seinen Samen ausgesät und damit die Grundlage für einen Neubeginn gelegt.

3. FAZIT

Die Jesaja-Überlieferung im Schrifttum von Qumran ist vielschichtig. Neben 1QJes^a VI,1–10 existiert mit 4QJes^f eine weitere Handschrift, in der der Verstockungsauftrag enthalten und die dem Traditionsstrang des protomasoretischen Textes zuzuordnen ist, als Kontrollinstanz und Korrektiv. (93) Dabei ist nicht zu entscheiden, ob Texte wie 4QJes^f tatsächlich der Gemeinschaft zuzuordnen sind. In jedem Fall sind sie gemeinsam überliefert, und es ist somit Vorsicht geboten, 1QJes^a gleichsam einen Alleinvertretungsanspruch für die Jesaja-Überlieferung im Yachad zuzusprechen. Zwar scheint 1QJes^a in häufigem Gebrauch gewesen zu sein, (94) doch bestimmen seine Lesarten nicht die Rezeption in den Texten des Yachad. 1QJes^a scheint nicht die dominierende Textform im Yachad widerzuspiegeln. In jedem Fall steht jedoch 1QJes^a als Schrift der Qumran Scribal Practice in enger Verbindung zu dieser Gemeinschaft und wurde in ihr tradiert. Sie wurde mitsamt ihren Varianten im Kontext einer Gruppierung gelesen, die von der Hauptlinie des Judentums getrennt war bzw. sich von ihr distanziert hatte. (95)

v. Timothy H. Lim und John J. Collins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 351–362.

(91) Zur semantischen Traductio im Hebräischen vgl. Wilhelm Gesenius, *Ausführliches, grammatisches, kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1817), §238 858; König, *Stilistik*, 297–298. Zum Gebrauch der Wurzel **נצב** zur Bezeichnung des Selbstverständnisses der Gemeinschaft vgl. Paul Noel Walker Swarup, *The Self-Understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community. An Eternal Planting, a House of Holiness*, Library of Second Temple Studies 59 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2006), 2.

(92) Vgl. Georg Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, KAT 16 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1963), 256.

(93) Inwieweit andere Handschriften, die ebenfalls Abschnitte aus Jes enthielten, als Belege für die vorliegende Textstelle dienen konnten, muss offen bleiben. Vgl. Dwight Swanson, „The Text of Isaiah at Qumran,“ in Firth und Williamson, *Interpreting Isaiah*, 196.

(94) Vgl. Lange, *Handschriften*, 291; Fabry, „Rezeption“, 119–120.

(95) Vgl. Pulikottil, *Transmission*, 212; Shemaryahu Talmon, „Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in the Light of Qumran Manuscripts,“ in *Textus* 4 (1964): 97.

In der skizzierten Transformation des Baumgleichnisses spiegelt sich ein Differenzierungsprozess zwischen dem Volk und dem Rest, zwischen den bestimmenden Linien des Judentums einerseits und dem Yachad andererseits, wider. 1QJes^a nimmt einen „hingeworfen liegenden“ oder „entblätternen“ Stamm in Augenschein. Folgt man der in V 13 eröffneten Identifikationsmöglichkeit der Adressaten, des Yachad, mit dem verbliebenen Rest (ועוד בה עשיריה V 13a bzw. מצבתה V 13b), zeigt sich eine positive Rezeptionslinie, die gleichermaßen der Abgrenzung wie der Selbstvergewisserung dient. Sie versteht den Text von seinem Ende und damit von der Selbstidentifikation der Rezipienten mit dem מצבת Gottes, mit dem von Gott gesäten neuen Gewächs, her. (96) Der Yachad erscheint so als das Zehntel des Volkes, das anders als der durch den Baumstamm (משלכת מצבת) symbolisierte Großteil des Volkes, der nicht umkehrt und damit der Vernichtung anheimfallen wird (והיתה לבער), zu Gott umgekehrt ist (ושבה).

Durch die abweichende syntaktische Zuweisung von במה erhält V 13b das Gewicht eines eigenständigen Verbal-Satzes, der der Verhältnisbestimmung von Baum und neuem Gewächs bzw. — folgt man der vorgeschlagenen Identifikation — von Volk und Yachad dient. Dem „hingeworfenen“ bzw. „entblätternen Baum“ wird die positive Funktion, Grundlage des von Gott gewährten Neubeginns zu sein, zugesprochen: Durch den Baum hat der Heilige sein neues Gewächs gesät. Das neue Gewächs geht auf ihn zurück, ist von diesem aber unterschieden und verfügt anders als dieser über eine Zukunftsperspektive. Der aufgezeigte Kontrast wird durch die von der Verwendung der Wurzel שלך in Dan 8,11 angedeutete Linie verschärft, die zeigt, dass die Wurzel nicht nur „werfen“, sondern auch „entweihen“ meinen kann. Der entweihete Baum scheint in einem bildhaften Gebrauch für den Jerusalemer Tempel zu stehen. Der Yachad begreift sich als das von Gott begründete neue Gewächs, das durch den „entweiheten Stamm“ der führenden Schichten um den Tempel von Jerusalem hervorgebracht wurde und diesem gegenübergestellt wird. (97)

Das neue Gewächs wird durch diejenigen in diesem Volk konstituiert, die angesichts des göttlichen Gerichtes (V 11f.) umgekehrt

(96) Zu diesem Selbstverständnis vgl. auch Swarup, *Self-Understanding*, 15–104, bes. auch 2, „The idea of ‘plant/planting’ is usually represented in the Hebrew by מטע, and in the Aramaic by נצבה, with the adjectives ‘eternal’ (1QS VIII:5; 1QH^a XIV[VI]:15; 1En. 93.5), ‘righteous’ (Jub. 1.16–17), or ‘upright’ (1En. 93.2) regularly in attendance. The expression ‘eternal planting’ is used among the DSS and other texts composed during the Second Temple period to express a biblical idea about the people of Israel restored and established by God. This is one of the key metaphors which the sectarian community uses to express their self-awareness as a ‘holy nation’.“

(97) Vgl. Evans, *To see*, 60.

sind. Sie haben gehört und haben verstanden, sie haben gesehen und erkannt. Durch seine Botschaft hat der Prophet ihr Herz verstört, so dass sie sich in ihrer Distanzierung vom Unrecht in diesem Volk als Gerechte erwiesen haben. Daher haben sie mit ihrem Herzen verstanden, sie sind umgekehrt und haben sich Heilung verschafft. Der sog. Verstockungsauftrag Jes 6,9f. wird in 1QJes^a ganz unter diesem Blickwinkel betrachtet. Die von Gott angeordnete Intervention Jesajas ist auf das Heil des Volkes hin ausgerichtet, das sich in der Gemeinschaft des neuen Gewächses realisiert und fruchtbar wird. Auf diese Weise wird die Intervention zu einer Heilsintervention zu Gunsten der eigenen Gruppe; die vernichtende Dimension des Handelns außerhalb wird nicht in den Blick genommen.

1QJes^a legt von einer innerjüdischen Rezeption der Prophetie des Jesaja in einer gruppenspezifischen Verwendung Zeugnis ab. Bemerkenswert ist die Betonung der Verbundenheit. Der abgeschlagene bzw. entblätterte Stamm erscheint als Voraussetzung und Instrument der Konstitution des „neuen Gewächses“. Im Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit steht die Heilsabsicht Gottes; daneben erscheint jedoch auch das Gericht als unumgängliche Tatsache. Die Heilsgeschichte setzt sich durch die göttliche Intervention in der Gemeinschaft fort.

Dominik HELMS
Universität Augsburg

COMMUNAL MEALS AT QUMRAN REVISITED

Summary

The communal meal at Khirbet Qumran was an attested practice, based on these factors: the two large ceramic assemblages found in pantries L89 and L114, and the animal bone deposits found within ceramic vessels, scattered in spaces between or outside buildings all over the site.

This paper will inspect both the archaeological evidence for the existence of the communal meals at Khirbet Qumran and the period of time during which they took place.

Sommaire

Les repas communautaires à Khirbet Qumrân étaient une pratique attestée, qui fut démontrée sur la base de ces éléments: les deux grands assemblages de céramique trouvés dans les garde-manger L89 et L114, ainsi que les dépôts d'os d'animaux trouvés dans des récipients en céramique, dispersés à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des bâtiments partout sur le site. Cet article examinera à la fois la preuve archéologique de l'existence des repas communautaires à Khirbet Qumrân et la période de temps au cours de laquelle ces repas ont eu cours.

1. Introduction (1)

TWO main archaeological phenomena encouraged De Vaux, followed by other scholars, to propose that the sectarian inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran engaged in communal meals with some ritual customs: (1) the large amount of pottery, more than 1000 vessels, the majority of them tableware, found in L86-89, a pantry, adjacent to L77—a refectory/assembly hall/communal dining room (the largest room at Qumran). Another pottery deposit, with about 220 vessels, was found

(1) I am very grateful to Jean-Baptiste Humbert for his encouraging and critical remarks. I would like to thank the reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions. Obviously, I am the only one responsible for the contents of this article.

in L114—a small room probably also a pantry. (2) Animal bone deposits stored in vessels, mixed with potsherds, discovered in free spaces between or outside buildings, in the northwest, south and east of the site.

The communal meals at Qumran are debated by scholars. Roland De Vaux (2) and Jodi Magness (3) identified the relevant Qumran remains as the remnants of meals with sacred or religious significance. Schiffman (4) maintains that the communal meals at Qumran were not sacred meals but had messianic implications, which are described in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa II, 11-22). The Community Rule (1QS VI, 4-6) describes the communal meal with at least ten participants and a priest who leads. The bread and wine in the meal symbolize a meal of food and drink. The participation in the communal meals was done in stages in order to preserve the meals' purity. Stegemann (5) argues that the Qumran community meals might have been a replacement version of ritual meals conducted in the Temple during the festivals.

The community meal is also described by Josephus, though he identifies it as the meal of the Essenes (*War* 2. 128-131):

“before the sun is up they utter no word on mundane matters, but offer to him certain prayers, which have been handed down from their forefathers, as though entreating him to rise. They are then dismissed by their superiors to the various crafts in which they are severally proficient and are strenuously employed until the fifth hour, when they again assemble in one place and, after girding their loins with linen cloths, bathe their bodies in cold water. After this purification, they assemble in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is permitted to enter; pure now themselves, they repair to the refectory, as to some sacred shrine. When they have taken their seats in silence, the baker serves out the loaves to them in order, and the cook sets before each one plate with a single course.”

The communal meal was conducted, according to Josephus every day, in the morning “before the sun is up” and in the evening. This assumption is difficult to ascertain, but for the period under discussion and the community at the site, it is much more feasible that a communal meal was conducted only periodically.

(2) Roland De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 12-14.

(3) Jodi Magness, “Communal Meals and Sacred Space at Qumran,” in *Debating Qumran. Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (ed. J. Magness; Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 86-90.

(4) Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Communal Meals at Qumran,” *RevQ* 10 (1979): 46-52.

(5) Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran. On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 191-192.

To comprehend the pottery found in the pantries and the vessels recovered with bones, the dating of Qumran Periods Ib and II has to be inspected and considered.

2. The Dating of Qumran

The dating of Khirbet Qumran's establishment to the second century BCE and its subsequent development are debated topics (see Table 1).

Roland De Vaux proposed three periods of the sectarian settlement at Qumran as provided by the ceramic, numismatic, and stratigraphic evidence: Period Ia—dated to the 2nd c. BCE (130-100 BCE); Period Ib—final years of the 2nd c. BCE to 31 BCE (ca. 103-31 BCE) followed by a gap of about 30 years; Period II—4-1 BCE to 68 CE. (6) De Vaux maintained that during Qumran Period Ib, in the early 1st century BCE the site reached its complete form, and its plan continued with few changes into the 1st century CE. Period Ib was ended by earthquake and fire around 31 BCE, as evidenced by the damage in many areas of the site: in loci L10A, L50, and L86-89, and especially in one of the cisterns (L48-49) where the steps are split. De Vaux (7) argued that the earthquake and fire were simultaneous though “there is no evidence to confirm it” but “this solution is the simplest and ... there is no positive argument to contradict it”. After that the site was abandoned and the ‘gap’ (after the earthquake and fire) in occupation at Qumran according to De Vaux lasted for about 25-30 years up to 4-1 BCE and is contemporaneous with the reign of Herod the Great, 31-4 BCE. The site was abandoned for some time: some areas were deserted, the water system was ruined, the site was flooded, silt and sediment overflowed and collected up to about 0.75m.

Following the gap, the site was reoccupied in Period II, in the time of Herod Archelaus (ca. 4 BCE); De Vaux (8) based it on the numismatic evidence, such as the ten Herodian coins and the hoard of Tyrian tetradrachmas. The general plan of Period II remained almost the same as renovations were carried out by the same sect; buildings were cleared out, repaired, rebuilt, and strengthened. Some rooms were not cleaned and remained deserted, no longer in use, such as L86-89 where thousands of vessels were left in their place.

(6) Roland De Vaux, “Fouilles au Khirbet Qumran—Rapport préliminaire sur les 4^e et 5^e campagnes,” *RB* 63 (1956): 569; De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 5, 19-24, 33-41.

(7) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 21-24.

(8) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 22-26, 33-34.

Several questions regarding the ‘gap’ are open to conjecture: What were the reasons for the desertion of the site? Where was the community during this time? When did it return?

Most scholars believe that the same community resettled the site in period II:

Magen Broshi (9) suggests a slightly different chronology: the gap after the earthquake of 31 BCE, between Periods Ib and II, lasted only for a few years, and that by 26 BCE the site was settled again, with Period II lasting from 26 BCE-68 CE (at least 94 years).

Jodi Magness (10) maintains that there is no evidence for a military or sectarian settlement in Period Ia, in the 2nd c. BCE. Magness (11) holds that according to the ceramic and numismatic evidence “the settlement at Qumran was established in the first half of the 1st c. BCE, not later than 50 BCE... and was sectarian from the start.” The initial settlement of the Qumran sectarian community was probably established in Period Ib. She argues furthermore that Period Ib should be divided into two phases: Phase 1- between 100 and 50 BCE (around 80-31 BCE), and Phase 2-31-9/8 BCE. She claims that the site was not abandoned after the earthquake (based on numismatic evidence), but immediately restored, with many of the damaged buildings being repaired, while other structures, like the pantry L86-89 which was left buried under the ruins, were not even cleared; she suggests that a fire in 9/8 BCE or some time later destroyed the site, which was then abandoned for several years until early in the reign of Herod Archelaus. Period II lasted from 4-1 BCE-68 CE.

Different views are expressed by Jean-Baptiste Humbert (12) based on his study of De Vaux’s field Notes and re-examination of the

(9) Magen Broshi, “The Archaeology of Qumran—A reconsideration,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 103-15, esp. 109-111.

(10) Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 63-69; *eadem*, “The Chronology of the Settlement at Qumran in the Herodian Period,” in *Debating Qumran. Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (ed. Jodi Magness; Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 43-48; *eadem*, “Qumran: the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 650; *eadem*, “Methods and Theories in the Archaeology of Qumran,” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls. An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 106.

(11) Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 714.

(12) Jean-Baptiste Humbert, “Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation,” in *Khirbet Qumrân et ‘Ain Feshkha*, vol. 2 (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 422, figs. 1-3.

site's stratigraphy, he argues that "there emerge four (or five) principal architectural phases, corresponding to different ways of life and rationales regarding the special organisation. The Iron Age defenders chose the site, the Hasmonaean aristocracy enhanced it. First, the Essenes consecrated it, and then enclosed it. Finally, a squadron set up camp there after 68 AD." The original nucleus of the site was a residential building consisting of a courtyard surrounded by rooms, which might be "attributed to the Hasmonaean or Herodian aristocracy" (his Level 2, Phase B). He further (13) maintains that this early residence was destroyed, though dating that destruction is difficult, suggesting that it may have occurred in either 56 BCE (Gabinus's campaign), 40 BCE (during the Parthian invasion), or 31 BCE (during Herod's rise to power). Humbert rejects the possibility of an earthquake or fire and the abandonment at Qumran in 31 BCE based on his different interpretation of the site's stratigraphy. He notes that "the earthquake was late and could not be the event described for Period Ib and II. The fire, as well as the abandonment, must be forgotten. Without the abandonment, there is no return." Humbert (14) maintains that "the two floors of L86 do not necessarily signify two different periods. Therefore, the argument of the earthquake for the year 31 BCE can no longer be accepted". He proposes a continuous occupation from 40/30 B.C. to 68 A.D., without any breaks. Humbert (15) dates the Essene occupation of Khirbet Qumran to Level 3 Phases A-C = 31 BCE-68 CE.

Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg (16) developed the chronology based on their own excavations at Qumran with little association to De Vaux's dating.

Other scholars suggest different chronologies (see the current study by Mizzi). (17)

Considering the diverse proposals of scholars for Qumran's chronology it seems to me that Magness's revision of De Vaux's chronology is the most accurate dating, especially for Period Ib, since it corresponds to the data and the stratigraphy presented in the reports published to date. The information on the earthquake is quite substantial, but the

(13) Humbert, "Reconsideration," 436-437.

(14) J-B. Humbert, "Some Remarks on the Archaeology of Qumran," in *Qumran, The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debate* (ed. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jürgen Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 31.

(15) Humbert, "Reconsideration," 444, fig. 11; Humbert, "Some Remarks," 38.

(16) Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations 1993 – 2004, Preliminary Report* (Judea and Samaria Publications 6; Jerusalem, IAA: 2007).

(17) Dennis Mizzi, "Qumran Period I Reconsidered: An Evaluation of Several Competing Theories," *DSD* 22 (2015): 18, the chronological chart.

questions regarding the ‘gap’ such as the reasons for the desertion of the site and the location of the community during this time, do not receive any significant answers.

Table 1: Qumran Chronology

Dates	De Vaux		Humbert 2003: 444, fig. 11	Magness 2002:68	Magen/Peleg 2007
800-700 BCE		Iron Age Fort 8th c. BCE	Level 1: small Iron Age Fort		
Gap					
135 BCE John Hyrcanus	Period Ia	135-104 BCE	Gap	—	Phase B-C 1st c-63 BCE
104 Alexander Jannaeus 63 BCE Pompey 56 BCE Gabinius 40 BCE Parthian raid 31 BCE Earthquake—according to Josephus	Period Ib	104-31 BCE	Level 2A: 104-63 BCE Hasmonaeon Aristocracy Residence Level 2B: 56/40-34 BCE. Refugee Camp	Phase I -100/80-31 BCE Phase II -31-9/8 BCE	Phase D 63-31 BCE Pottery production centre
31-4/1 BCE	Gap	-----	Level 3A: 31 BCE 3B: 30-10 BCE 3C: c.1-68 CE		Phase E 31 BCE-68 CE
1-68 CE	Period II	4-1 BCE-68 CE	Essene settlement	4-1 BCE-68 CE	Pottery production centre
132-135 CE	Period III	68-73/4 CE	Level 4: 68-132/135 CE. Roman outpost	68-73/4 CE	132-135 CE

3. The Pantries L86-89 and L114 and their Pottery

The main issues relating to the communal meal that deserve attention are the pantries with their large assemblage of ceramic vessels.

The southern block of Khirbet Qumran was developed around existing cisterns and has an elaborate water system. Two important rooms in Period Ib are located in the southern part (18). A large room (L77), the largest in the complex (22 m long × 4.5 m wide = 99 sq. m) with a plastered wall, paved sliding sloping floor and a conduit whose

(18) Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha. Album de photographies. Répertoire du fonds photographique. Synthèse des notes de chantier du Père Roland de Vaux OP. Vol. IA* (NTOA.SA; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), fig. XXV.

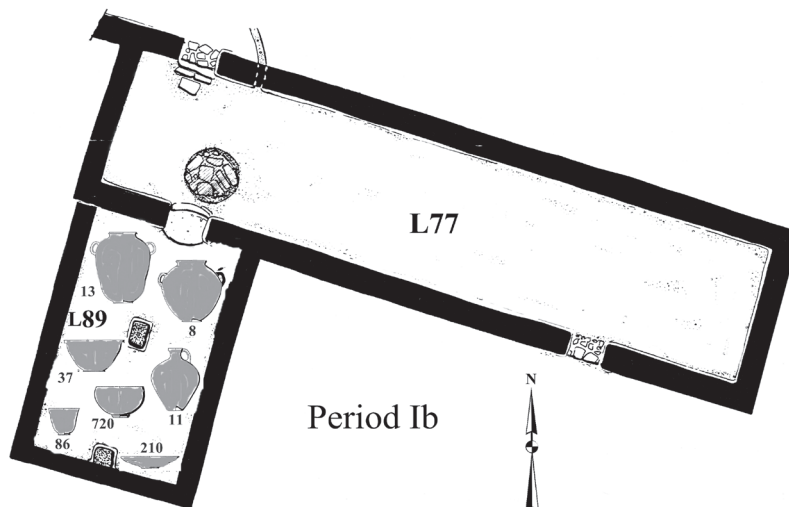


Fig. 1. L77 and L89: plan, pottery ensemble with number of examples (after Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, Pl. XXV; *Khirbet Qumrân*, Fig. 165; De Vaux, “*Fouilles*,” Fig. 2).

opening, which could be opened or closed easily, was located in the room, indicating it could easily be washed, as evidently the room had to be cleaned. On the west side of room 77 was a circular paved area of stones that De Vaux suggested was possibly used by the president or lector who presided over the meals and ceremonies. L86 a smaller room (8.0 × 4.5 m) was adjacent to room L77. De Vaux suggests that in Period Ib room L77 served as a refectory/ assembly hall/ communal dining room and rooms L86-89 as the pantry/annex (Fig. 1).

De Vaux (19) noted three plastered mud-brick ‘pillar’ bases found on the east side of Room L77, and two higher blocks in L86-89, which he allocated to Periods Ib and II suggesting that they served as roof supports. Humbert (20) contends that these are not pillars but plaster ‘cubes’, which were an offering table; while Pfann (21) argues that

(19) De Vaux, “*Fouilles*,” 542; De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 11, 26-27; De Vaux, in *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumran and Ain Feshkha. Synthesis of Roland de Vaux’s Field Notes. English Edition. Vol. IB* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon; trans. Stephen J. Pfann; NTOA.SA; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 40-41.

(20) Humbert, “Some Remarks,” 32.

(21) Stephen J. Pfann, “A Table Prepared in the Wilderness: Pantries and Tables, Pure Food and Sacred Space at Qumran,” in *Qumran, The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls*:

the pillars' bases probably functioned as table legs/supports for one or more tables as appropriate for a dining room. Humbert and Chambon describe the stratigraphy and dating of L77: the first floor (77.7) to level 2B or 3A, Floor 880 (77.6) to level 3A/B, floor 879 (77.4/5) to level 3B/C, a landslide to post-level 3, a silo/oven in level 4; L89 with all the pottery is dated to level 3C (1-68 CE). (22)

3.1. *The pantry L86-87-89*, forming a single room adjacent to the long room L77, was, according to De Vaux, badly damaged during the earthquake of 31 BCE which ended period Ib. (23) De Vaux (24) noted: "The room suffered an unusual degree of damage in an earthquake, which put an end to Period Ib... the ceiling fell in and under the debris of this we found a stock of more than a thousand vessels" (Fig. 1). In Period II, L86 was only the northern section of the room; L87 was the central section of L86, with L89, the southern part of L86, partitioned by a low wall. L86 was reused at a slightly higher level during Period II. The upper layer of L86 was not a floor but the collapsed upper story, with a small number of objects, mainly pottery. (25)

L89 contained two levels: (1) the plastered floor with all the pottery of Period Ib, and the small wall (that separated L87 and L89) constructed after the pottery deposit was crushed; (2) a higher level with a door at the southeast corner (26).

Archaeological Interpretations and Debate (ed. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jürgen Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 166-167.

(22) Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân et Ain Feshkha. L'archéologie de Qumrân Reconsidération de l'interprétation. Corpus of the Lamps*. Vol. IIIA (NTOA.SA; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Forthcoming), 236-250.

(23) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 11-12, n. 1, argues against Milik's proposal, J. T. Milik, *Ten years of discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), 55, that the pottery should belong to Period II, because of the palaeography of the 5-letter name *Elazar* that according to Milik is typical of writing of the 1st century CE.

(24) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 11.

(25) There is a problem with the data in De Vaux's notes: L86 in Period Ib (in Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, vol. IA, plans III, XXV), appears as a single room adjacent to L77; the photographs Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, vol. IA, Nos. 340-344 show the pottery ensemble on the floor of L86, while the same (more of the thousand vessels) are listed by De Vaux in L89 on the floor of the lower level (in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 40-42). L89 appears (Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, vol. IA, plans IV, XXV) only in Period II as the southern part of L86. Examples of this pottery ensemble are recorded in De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 2, as recovered from L89, period Ib; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 266, pl. VIII replaced it with L185.

(26) De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 5, 41-42.

The plastered floor of L89 contained about a thousand vessels, almost all tableware, from Period Ib (probably only complete and restored vessels were listed); the pottery assemblage was found placed upside down, grouped by category, neatly stacked in rows; (27) bowls, to the southeast; plates—close to the pillar; cups—to the west; jugs and jars to the southwest. *Tableware*: 720 deep bowls with base ring, 210 plates, 86 goblets/cups; *Service vessels*: 37 kraters/terrines, 11 jugs; *Storage vessels*: 13 storage jars, 8 ovoid jars (Fig. 1). The absence of cooking pots should be noted. (28)

The pottery assemblage (as maintained by most scholars) probably collapsed, and was found under the ceiling that fell as a result of the earthquake of 31 BCE, which dates the vessels to the pre-31 phase of Period Ib. These vessels are evidence of tableware used by the community during Period Ib. (29)

De Vaux (30) noted that the pantry was not cleared, “In the annex of the main assembly room, loci 86, 89, the broken crockery was left in its place and a wall was built of the same height as the central pillar.” De Vaux (31) claims correctly that L89 was not a common store-room for pottery. The ensemble—tableware vessels needed for regular meals—comprises everything needed for meals, and for feasts by pilgrims, was stored in L89 for use in the communal dining room (L77) next door. He (32) notes that “the crockery (especially the plates and beakers) clearly belongs to the pottery group of Period Ib and is different from that of Period II which has been found on the upper level

(27) Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, vol. IA, Photo no. 344.

(28) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” 554, fig. 2; De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 12; Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, vol. IA, 164-165, 318-9, pls. 341-4; Magness, *Archaeology*, 116-117; J. Magness, “Communal Meals and Sacred Space at Qumran,” in *Debating Qumran. Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (ed. J. Magness; Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 91-92, who refers to the pottery deposit as found in L86; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 40-42; Pfann, “A Table,” 163; Eyal Regev, “The Archaeology of Sectarianism: Ritual, Resistance and Hierarchy in Kh. Qumran,” *RevQ* 94 (2009): 181; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, figs. 164-166, pls. 42-49, relisted and published the whole collection.

(29) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” 554; Paul. W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology, 200 BC – AD 70* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1961), 12; Magness, *Archaeology*, 123; Magness, “Communal Meals,” 92. But Milik, *Ten years*, 55, dated the same pottery to period II; and see Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*. Vol. IIIA, 266, who date the pottery to Level 3, Phase C = 1-68 CE.

(30) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 25.

(31) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 5, 6, 12, 13; De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 11-12, pls. Xa-Xb; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 41-42.

(32) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 11-12, n. 1.

of the large room.” De Vaux (33) states that “Locs 86-87-89 were reutilized during period II, but at a slightly higher level,” from which about 30 objects, mainly pottery vessels and fragments, were recovered.

Scholars debate the functions of room 77 and the pottery ensemble in L89; it’s dating and the reasons for leaving the broken pottery in place:

Magen Broshi (34) claims that as room 77 is the largest room at Qumran may well have functioned as a community assembly for ceremonial use, and could perhaps have accommodated 120 to 150 persons.

Jodi Magness (35) is correct in holding that the collection of uniform dining pottery and table service of L86-89 indicates communal meals shared by the Qumran community with many participants and a concern with ritual purity practices. She further contends “that each member received an individual plate with a serving of food, in contrast to the usual custom of sharing common dishes,” which concurs with Josephus’s comment on the Essenes (*War* 2.130): “the cook serves only one bowlful of one dish to each man.”

Jean-Baptiste Humbert (36) challenges and rejects De Vaux’s interpretation of rooms 77 and 86-89 as a refectory/assembly hall and a pantry as well as his dating of it to Period Ib; he claims instead that “locs 86 and 77 were a ‘community place’... this formed a wing consisting of two communicating rooms... could not have belonged to the initial construction project... the two loci must be considered as two identical chambers, fulfilling a particular function.” The two loci “were constructed in the same period, but were subjected to modifications during successive restorations.” He holds that the “pillars” are not for support of a roof, but “cubes” or pilasters which “appear as ‘tables’ or stands that organize the space in the rooms into an identical layout as loci 77 and 86.” He further claims “The floor in locus 89, covered by hundreds of pots, marks an occupation between its end and the blockage of the door between loci 77 and 86; locus 86, at the moment of the destruction, therefore was nothing more than a simple junk or storage room.” Humbert and Chambon (37) contend that L77-L86, a later addition on the south to the central building installed in about 30 BCE and continuing to 68 CE.

(33) De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 41.

(34) M. Broshi, “Qumran: Archeology,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; Oxford: University Press, 2000), 2:735.

(35) Magness, *Archaeology*, 116-117; Magness, “Communal Meals,” 91-92.

(36) Humbert, “Some remarks,” 30-38, figs. 1.5-1.8.

(37) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 236-250.

Humbert (38) further Notes, that loci 89 and 86 were sealed with great care while L77 was still in use. In this regard he suggests that “the sealing of a space containing a stock of intact pottery could result from the need to terminate some specific form of worship or religious activity.” He dates the sealing activity, based on the pottery and coins of Herod Agrippa I, to the mid-1st century CE, during the years of the revolt. However, the pottery inspection and the Neutron Activation Analysis presented different earlier dating to these rooms (see below).

Wagemakers and Taylor (39) inspecting new photographs of Khirbet Qumran which became available to them maintain that the diners in the L77 refectory used simple tables and benches, not couches; they suggest a partition wall at the east part of the refectory room. “The low blocks could have been pillar bases that supported palm log pillars, not so much for ceiling support but for room division, with semi-permanent wooden and/or cloth partitions between the pillars which separated people present in the room.” They assume that women ate to the left (north) of the partition and the men to the right (south). They propose this arrangement for Period II though it could have already been used in Period Ib.

Wagemakers and Taylor (40) contend that in L86 a localized fire broke out in part of the room at the end of Period Ib, though there is no record of it; they further maintain that “such was the damage that the Period II inhabitants rescued what they could, and then simply blocked off the back part of the room, building up a new floor at a considerably higher level, sealing the debris beneath it, and accessing the new higher floor by steps going up to L77.” They also argue that the pottery found in this area means it is likely that L86 in Period Ib “remained in use as a storage area for meal-related crockery after the earthquake that destroyed the crockery in its southern part. That makes it more likely that L77 also continued as a dining room in the latter part of Period Ib-II.”

However, only about 30 vessels are listed on the floor of L86 at that period. The pottery catalogue published by Humbert and Chambon (41) also lists 29 vessels, many only fragments—which hardly can be listed as crockery for communal meals in comparison to the pantry of Period Ib.

(38) Humbert, “Some remarks,” 38-39.

(39) Bart Wagemakers and Joan E. Taylor, “New Photographs of the Qumran Excavations from 1954 and Interpretations of L.77 and L.86,” *PEQ* 143 (2011): 139-141.

(40) Wagemakers and Taylor, “New Photographs,” 153.

(41) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 279-280, pl. 50.

The above proposed interpretations by Wagemakers and Taylor are presented with insufficient evidence and seem doubtful.

Magness (42) maintains that after the earthquake of 31 BCE, a dining room was reconstructed on the upper floor, a second-floor level above L77. She asserts that the functioning of L77 as a dining room after the earthquake until the end of Period II is indicated by the pottery (about 30 restorable vessels) which came from the second-story level of L77, and was found in pool L58 where it must have been thrown when the site was destroyed in 68 CE. The other evidence she mentions is a kitchen in L38-41 with three ovens, probably constructed after the earthquake.

Humbert and Chambon (43) rightly reject Magness's proposition of a dining room and a kitchen on the second floor above L77 and L86, since nothing in the construction proves the existence of a higher level, and the idea of a community dining room upstairs does not fit into the ancient canons: the feast habitually took place on the ground floor. The *triclinia* always opened on the ground floor, with the upper floors usually reserved for the apartment. It would not have been logical or practical to store dishes on the ground floor when the refectory was upstairs. They also reject the proposal by Pfann (44) of tables in L77, noting that no tables were used in the *triclinium*; usually there were carts on which the dishes were arranged. Neither banquets, nor funerals show participants or guests seated "at the table" and tables are certainly unsuitable to Qumran.

Humbert (45) argues that rooms 77 and 86 were utilized by the Essenes or some other sect for the celebration of the offering of first-fruits, a claim which he bases on the variety and quantity of the pottery found in the pantry: "grains and fruits were used as offerings (Lev. 19:24)" as well as "wine, bread, and fermented flour and even cakes." He further maintains that "the Qumran site is a sectarian complex... but one with specific archaeological character" with the probability of an Essene settlement or some other Jewish sect. He further suggests "that the nearby diaspora (those living on the east side of the Dead Sea) would come to Qumran for the Passover celebration," which he connects with the "cow and goat burnt bones discovered among the deposits of loci 130, 132, 135." In his interpretation (*ibid.*, p. 38) "Qumran served as a religious center for a Jewish sect living around the Dead Sea. The odd quantity of pottery in L86 could be viewed as indicative of some religious

(42) Magness, *Archaeology*, 122-123; Magness, "Communal Meals," 100-103.

(43) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, vol. IIIA, 48-49.

(44) Pfann, "A Table," 167.

(45) Humbert, "Some remarks," 36-38.

observance. The accumulation of dishes, bowls, and cups with a very specific typology does not fit precisely the character of a service reserved for meals.”

Humbert and Chambon (46) link the pottery ensemble in L89 with the interpretation that the rooms were used for the offering of first-fruits; it might have been a dish refectory, though they note the odd combination of vessels, with a surplus of bowls (720), a scarcity of cups (75) and very small plates, thus hardly a full tableware unit. They suggest another interesting possible use of the ceramic vessels of L89, for utilization after the harvest celebration: the small plates could have contained the wheat grains, ears of beaten barley, baked breads, the flour kneaded with oil (Lev. 23:10-13), optionally yeast, salt, grains of incense; the bowls possibly contained the ground fruits, olives, dates, figs; cups offered wine, juice, honey, oil, etc; the jars were used for decanting and storage. Humbert and Chambon (47) date the L89 pottery deposits to Level 3C (1-68 CE), possibly after 40 CE (because of coins of Herod Agrippa I [40-44 CE] found in L86). They (48) consider the ashes covering L89 (89.4, with all the pottery) as the result of the destruction of 68 CE.

However, the pottery found in L89 is rightly dated to Period Ib (100-31 BCE) by De Vaux. (49) The Agrippa I coins were found, according to De Vaux's notes (50), in the upper layer of L86, which is dated later. Magness (51) agrees with De Vaux that the pottery was broken at the time of the earthquake and thus belongs to pre-31 BCE. Bar Nathan (52) extends the date for some of the L89 vessels to 31-15 BCE, the early period of Herod's reign. The study comparing the L89 vessels with similar pottery found in Jericho and Jerusalem also concludes with its dating to the 1st century BCE (see below).

Summing up the scholars' debate, the most plausible interpretation of the data is that Room 77, being the largest room in Qumran, served as a dining/assembly room for the communal meal, and the vessels found in the attached pantry L89 were used for the communal meals; both L77 and L89 are dated to Period Ib.

(46) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 51.

(47) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 258.

(48) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 239, 266.

(49) Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, dates to 50-31 BCE all the L89 pottery vessels published by De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 2.

(50) De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 41-42

(51) Magness, *Archaeology*, 117.

(52) Rachel Bar-Nathan, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho. Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations. Vol. III. The Pottery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 86.

3.2. *The other pantry, L114*, located in the northwest corner of the site, next to the round cistern 110, in which a pottery deposit of about 220 vessels covered by a Period II layer—was recovered; (53) the vessels were found in piles, stacked upside down and broken (fig. 2): *Tableware*: 127 deep and shallow bowls, 38 plates, 42 goblets/cups, 3 Herodian oil lamps (wheel-made); *service vessels*: 11 kraters, 3 jugs, 2 ovoid storage jars and various potsherds. (54) Magness (55) counts: 111 hemispherical cups, 39 shallow open bowls, 11 deep bowls or cups, 3 jugs/ juglets, 3 Herodian lamps and many potsherds.

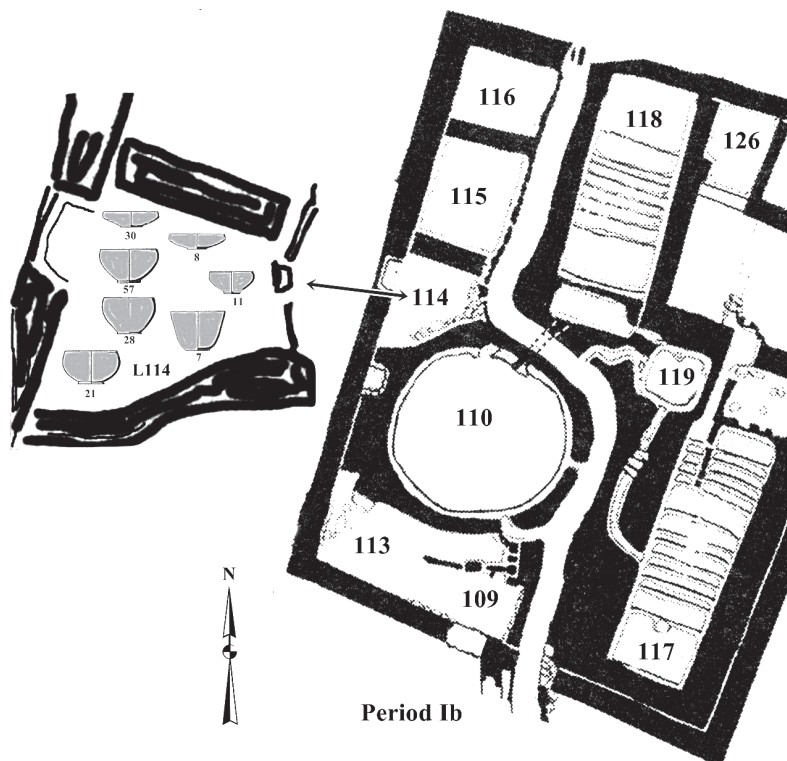


Fig. 2. L114: plan, pottery ensemble with number of examples (after Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, Pl. XVII; De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 4).

(53) Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, vol. IA, photo no. 222.

(54) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 4; De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 5, n. 1; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 50; Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, 327; Pfann, "A Table," 163-164.

(55) Magness, *Archaeology*, 124; Magness, "Communal Meals," 103.

De Vaux (56) admits that “by an error the store of pottery in L114 has been attributed to Period II because it includes three ‘Herodian’ lamps. But these lamps are rougher in design than true ‘Herodian’ lamps and are earlier than them. The group as a whole belongs to Period Ib. Moreover, the locus was covered by Period II.” Magness (57) suggests that the L114 assemblage dates to the post-31 BCE phase of Period Ib, and represents the vessels in use at the time of the site’s destruction in the fire of ca. 9/8 BCE, the period of Herod’s reign; the reasons for this dating are as mentioned by De Vaux. Magness connects L114 with the animal bones found in the northern part of the site (L130, L135), and presents a doubtful proposal, that the pantry L114 was the store room of a communal dining room that was built on the second story of the complex to the west—above Loci 111, 120-123 and attested by a staircase in L113—constructed after the earthquake of 31 BCE and destroyed by fire ca. 9/8 BCE.

The ceramic vessel types, their proportions and ratio found in both pantries (L89, L114) are, as Pfann (58) rightly noted, similar. Pfann estimated a total of 2,205 cataloged pottery vessels were found at the main building, of which 1,260 were recovered from the pantries L89 and L114, constituting about 57% of the total (59).

The assemblages of vessel types found in L89 and L114 are similar, dating to Period Ib, though it is possible that some pottery items especially from L114 date to the later part of the period (see below).

Some scholars suggest that Khirbet Qumran was a pottery production center and that the vessels were for commercial use, based on the large quantity of vessels, the kilns, and the possibility that some of the *miqva’ot* (Loci 58, 68, 91) were in fact rainwater reservoirs (60). Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg’s (61) claim that Qumran was a pottery production center, based solely on the sediment in pool L71 which they identify as “high-quality potters’ clay”; they further suggest that

(56) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 5, n. 1, fig. 4.

(57) Magness, *Archaeology*, 125-126; Magness, “Communal Meals,” 103-106.

(58) Pfann, “A Table,” 163-164.

(59) See also Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 317, detailed lists: 2029 vessels, with the majority, numbering 1717, being bowls, plates and cups.

(60) Lena Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes. A Revaluation of the Evidence* (TSAJ 60; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1997), 154-155; Jürgen Zangenberg, “Opening up our View: Khirbet Qumran in a Regional Perspective,” in *Religion in Roman Palestine. Old Questions and New Approaches* (ed. Douglas R. Edwards; New York: Routledge, 2004), 170-188.

(61) Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations*, 64, 68 88-89, 92, 100, 106-107.

the pottery vessels in the pantries were in fact for sale; however, they present no evidence for this assertion (62). Bar-Nathan suggests (63) that the large hall (L77) was used as a workshop for the potter's wheel and for drying the pottery, with room 89 serving as the vessels storage room.

However, noting that the NA analysis (64) indicated that only a third of the Qumran pottery was local, it is difficult to accept these proposals.

4. Animal bones

A phenomenon specific and distinctive to Qumran is the deposits of animal bones, many found within ceramic vessels, mixed with, and under potsherds, barely covered many on the ground level; some were placed inside cooking pots and vessels with their lids on. The deposits were discovered in the free spaces between or outside buildings all over the site. Most bones were fleshless, many deliberately broken before deposition; no complete animal skeleton was found (65). Zeuner (66) examined 39 deposits containing broken pottery and bones in a poor state of preservation. About 500 specimens were identified, recovered from 22 deposits in L130, 8 deposits in L132 and 7 deposits in the South Trench. The represented bone species were sheep and goats (the majority), lambs, cows or oxen, and kids; usually the bones came from immature animals. The bones had been boiled, cooked, or roasted (not burnt), but some had no flesh left to eat. These remains from meals and from the kitchen were collected and put in vessels. Zeuner claims "the fact that it was considered worthwhile to place in a pot and then to bury scraps of a meal that were useless for human consumption strongly points to a ritual character of the custom." He also stated that the presence of beef bones rule out the possibility that these were remains of Passover meals.

(62) See the review by J. Magness, "Qumran: the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 649-659.

(63) Rachel Bar-Nathan, "Qumran and the Hasmonaean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho: The Importance of the Pottery Finds on the Interpretation of the Settlement at Qumran," in *Qumran, The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debate* (ed. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jürgen Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 272, n. 31.

(64) Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis, Scrolls jars and Common Ware," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha. Etude d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie, vol. II* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 3-53.

(65) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 12-14, n. 3, 111.

(66) F. E. Zeuner, "Notes on Qumran," *PEQ* 92 (1960): 28-30.

De Vaux (67) argued that “The date of these deposits is determined by the level at which they were discovered, the pottery covering them, and in some instances by the coins which were recovered from their immediate vicinity. The majority belong to Period Ib... The pottery is characteristic of Period Ib and some coins of Alexander Jannaeus have been discovered nearby. But the same custom persisted during the following period.”

Animal bones were found in eight loci at the north and southeastern parts of Khirbet Qumran; loci 23, 65, 80, 92, 130, and 135 in Period Ib; Loci 73, 80, 130, and 132 in Period II. (68) It is difficult to find any substantial evidence assigning these deposits to period II.

L23—the only deposit uncovered in the main part of the site: bones were found with a jar and a cooking pot outside in the courtyard; L65—animal bones were found with broken jars and bowls of Period I; L73—some animal bones were found with broken pots and in a jar; L80—animal bones mixed with pottery were found on an uncertain floor (Period II?); L92—some animal bones were found in a hole in the gravel, under an overturned plate. Other collections of bones and pottery were recovered in L130, L132, L135 (open-air spaces alongside the building, outside the northwest enclosure), and in the southern enclosure and the south trench. (69)

The largest concentration of bones with pottery was found in L130 in the northern enclosure, between the secondary building and the large decantation basin (70). A deposit of about 70 vessels (many of them potsherds), including bowls, cooking pots, cups, jars, and lamps associated with ashes and with animal bones, were found in L130 - A4, B5, A5, B5, A6 (16 plates, 13 bowls, 10 cooking pots, 10 cups, 6 lamps, 6 lids, 5 jars, 3 jugs and one pot). The majority of these deposits of bones and pottery are dated to Period Ib, having apparently been placed there after the building was cleared following the earthquake of 31 BCE. (71) The L130-135 area and the pottery were perhaps destroyed by the fire of

(67) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 13.

(68) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 13, n. 1; Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles*, vol. IA, pl. 27; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 44, 47, 297; figs. 187, 193-203.

(69) De Vaux in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 55-59. Magen and Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations 1993 – 2004*, 12, 42-44, 63, found more bone deposits in the east, loci 44, 59, 61 and in the southern area. They also claim that “in their renewed excavation, vessels containing bones dating from the Hasmonean period were found in the southern dump, and elsewhere from later periods, up to the site destruction,” without presenting any details or any evidence.

(70) Humbert, “Reconsideration,” fig. 7.

(71) De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 55-57.

9/8 BCE. (72) Humbert and Chambon (73) date the deposits in L130.2-4 to levels (2B)/3AB (40-10 BCE).

About 20 cooking pots (including about 10 complete ones) were recovered from L130. (74) Two intact cooking pots with bones inside were found placed upside-down (KhQ2265 found in 130-A 2, KhQ2337 in 130-A5(2) (75); another large cooking pot overturned in 130-A4 (4) (KhQ2342); (76) cooking pot KhQ2348 in L130 to the right). (77)

In L132, in the southwest corner and against the west wall, several piles of potsherds consisting of about 30 jars, cooking pots, and bowls with bones were uncovered. The pottery is similar to that of L130. Two Hasmonaean coins were found together with two deposits in the east trench. (78)

In L135 large piles of potsherds were discovered: several jars, four cups, two cooking pots and two bowls containing animal bones; in the northwest section of L135 several cups, bowls and a cooking pot were recovered. (79)

In the following discussion, some of the scholars suggest that the animal bones are remnants of communal ritual meals, with some hints of purity rules. Some propose that the animal deposits were the remains of sacred meals and that they are comparable to the sacrificial meals at the Jerusalem Temple. While Humbert maintains that they served a sacrificial role, the explanations offered by some other scholars are questionable.

De Vaux (80) contends that the animal bones are remnants of ritual meals having religious significance, but not sacrifices as no altar was found at Qumran (but see below Humbert suggestions). Zeuner (81) noted that placing bones in a pot or burying useless bits of meals “strongly point to the ritual character of the custom... the ritual had already become a matter of form, the original sacrificial effort having been replaced by a symbolic act.”

(72) J. Magness, “The Chronology of Qumran,” 53.

(73) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 291-306, figs. 187-201.

(74) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 54, 56-63.

(75) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 1:16, 3:5 respectively.

(76) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 3:9.

(77) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pl. 54:12.

(78) De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 57-58; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 327-335, pls. 67-68.

(79) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” figs. 3:7, 8, 13; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 55-57; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, 340-341, pl. 69.

(80) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, 12-14.

(81) Zeuner, “Notes on Qumran,” 29.

Jodi Magness (82) maintains that the large number of animal bones found in L130, L132 and L135 indicates the existence of a dining hall in the secondary building, which seems unlikely. Magness contends that these animal bones are remains of communal meals and “many of the pottery vessels used in these meals seem to have been deliberately broken before being placed with the animal bone deposits. Because of this practice, as well as the sectarian belief that food and drink transmit impurity (requiring separate dishes for each member), the community needed hundreds of ceramic dishes, as seen in L86 and L114.” Magness (83) further suggests that the animal deposits are comparable to the sacrificial meals at the Jerusalem Temple. Magness (84) and Pfann (85), imply that these were sacred meals, reinforcing the designation of the Qumran residents as sectarian group. Pfann (86) contends that the practice of burying animal bones in pots in outer courtyards, “fits well with the form of sacred meals practiced at Qumran... was common to both Periods Ib and period II.”

Regev (87) remarks that “we should therefore consider the disposal of bones and some of their containers as representing remnants of ritual meals in which the meal was considered consecrated... the consumption of sacred meat in Kh. Qumran signified a ritual of resistance to the Temple. The large amount of bone deposits at the site indicates that this ritual of resistance was quite common and persistent.”

Humbert (88) envisions a different interpretation (contra De Vaux), he holds that the animal bones/pottery posits found in L130 might have served a sacrificial role only in the beginning stages; Humbert further contends that two wall remnants composed of large pebbles and separating loci 132 and 136 might have formed the altar for the sacrifice. On the other hand, he agrees with De Vaux that the bones “could be remnants of sacred meals, such as the Passover meal,” celebrated at Qumran by Jews (Essenes?) from all around the shores of the Dead Sea. Humbert (89) believes that “the deposits precede the construction of the northern enclosure... the deposits not earlier than 50 BCE. The extension of buildings for the purpose of specific sect activities would be of the same time period. The ceramics from what we call the Essene

(82) Magness, *Archaeology*, 121-125.

(83) Magness, “Community Meal,” 94-98.

(84) Magness, *Archaeology*, 114.

(85) Pfann, “A Table,” 172.

(86) Pfann, “A Table,” 172-174, fig. 7.5.

(87) Regev, “Archaeology of Sectarianism,” 194-195.

(88) Humbert, “Reconsideration,” 434, figs. 6, 7.

(89) Humbert, “Reconsideration,” 435-436.

phase of Qumran would have normally extended to the deposits beginning with the so-called Herodian period.”

Other scholars (90) suggested some questionable explanations, such as that the bone deposits were used to fertilize the soil, which would have been difficult as the bones were placed inside vessels; or that the bones or the pottery were abandoned because of impurity. Murphy (91) presents some sectarian texts which relate to the eating the sanctuary bones. Magen and Peleg (92) maintain that the bones were placed inside vessels and were intentionally buried deep in the ground in various areas of the settlement to avoid discovery by wild animals.

The large amount of bone deposits placed in containers at the outer spaces of the site indicates special meals with some kind of purity rituals, as part of which the bone remnants were placed in vessels instead of simply being tossed out or buried in pits. These were probably not specifically related to the daily communal meals.

5. The pottery of L86-89, L114, L130—NA analysis and comparisons

The debate on the pottery (93) of these loci is extensive. The examination here will include the NAA results of samples from the various loci as well as an assessment of comparison with ceramic vessels of other sites especially Jericho.

5.1. Neutron Activation Analysis

Important to the debate on the pottery assemblages is the Neutron Activation Analysis of the pottery of Period Ib found in the two pantries—L89, L114, and L130—researched and published by Gunneweg and Balla. (94)

(90) Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes*, 160; Y. Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context. Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 109, 111.

(91) Murphy, *Wealth*, 320-321.

(92) Magen and Peleg, “Back to Qumran,” 96.

(93) It should be noted that most of the Qumran pottery excavated by De Vaux has not yet been published, but see the pottery published now in Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*; for the purposes of this article the little that was published will be adequate.

(94) Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 3-53. Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla, “Possible Connections Between the Inscriptions on Pottery, the Ostraca and Scrolls Found in the Caves,” in *Khirbet Qumrân et ‘Ain Feshkha. Etude d’anthropologie, de physique et de chimie. Vol. II* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 389-394; Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla, “Was the Qumran Settlement a Mere Pottery Production Center? What Instrumental Neutron Activation Revealed,” in *Holis-*

The NAA findings from L89, L114, and L130 are noteworthy with each locus providing different results.

The largest collection of pottery analyzed by the NA (95) are eight samples out of a very large group of bowls, plates, cups and jugs from pantry L89, all originated from Group III, vessels imported from Jericho: three deep hemispherical bowls with inturned rim and ring base, from a group of more than 708 bowls KhQ1601, (96) one of them (KhQ1650) inscribed in Hebrew with the name 'Elazar' (97). This group is similar to bowls Type J-BLS5 from the Hasmonaean Palaces at Jericho; three cups from a group of 75 (KhQ1587); (98) One plate (KhQ1591-8) (99) out of a group of 204 plates; and one jug/decanter (KhQ1574-6) (100) out of 11 examples.

A later example of a funnel, from L86 (KhQ1452), (101) from the upper layer, Period II, was made of Hebron-Motsa clay, "which has the same chemical composition as that of some of the scroll jars." (102)

The seven pottery samples from pantry L114, analyzed by NA, present different results: a 'balsam' juglet (KhQ 2596) (103) locally made at Qumran and belonging to Group I. Three vessels—a deep bowl from a group of 11 similar bowls (KhQ2591-2), (104) an incurved plate from a group of 8 (KhQ2576), (105) and an ovoid jar (KhQ2657)—are made of Hebron-Motsa clay, Group II. Two vessels—a deep small bowl

tic Qumran. Trans-Disciplinary Research of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. Jan Gunneweg, Annemie Adriaens and Joris Dik; STDJ 87; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 39-59.

(95) Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," Table 5. Another possibility is that the clay from around Jericho and other places was provided to Qumran as well. Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 24; Magness, *Archaeology*, 74; M. Broshi, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, The Sciences and New Technologies," *DSD* 11 (2004): 141-142, maintains that only the clay was brought to Qumran not the vessels. This might be also the assumption for all five chemical groups: that the Qumran inhabitants collected clay sources from all these provenances (Hebron-Motsa-Jerusalem clay, Jericho clay and Edom—Nabatea) and manufactured the vessels at the Qumran workshops.

(96) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 2:11, 12.

(97) André Lemaire, "Inscriptions du Khirbeh, des Grottes et de 'Ain Feshkha," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha. Etude d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie. Vol. II* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 356.

(98) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 2:8, 9.

(99) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 2:6, 7.

(100) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 2:1.

(101) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 5:12.

(102) Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 14.

(103) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 4:8, one of two; Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 13.

(104) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 4:1.

(105) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 4:5.

from a group of 4 (KhQ2600-2), (106) and a plate from a group of 30 (KhQ2577) (107)—belong to the Edom-Nabatea chemical composition, Group IV. Notably, no analyzed sample from L114 was found have been imported from Jericho (Group III).

There are eight analyzed pottery examples from L130: A clay ball (KhQ 2209) and two stoppers of jars (KhQ2271, KhQ 2296), which are local Qumran ware, Group I. (108) Two Hellenistic lamps (KhQ2206 and KhQ 5087), and seven similar lamps (KhQ 2308, 2210, 2270, 2294, 2295) (109) were found by the NAA to be imports from Jericho, Group III. (110) In L130.A2, two upper parts of inscribed jugs (KhQ 2416, 2417) (111) have the Edom-Nabatea chemical composition, Group IV; Gunneweg and Balla (112) state that these vessels came from Petra. Two cooking pots (KhQ 2265, KhQ 2342) (113) from L130 found with bones do not match with any of the other pottery analyzed. (114) Note that no example made of Hebron-Motsa clay (Group II) was found in L130.

The examinations of the NA from L89, L114, and L130 are remarkable:

(1) The locally-made Qumran vessels are: the ‘balsam juglet’ from L114, the clay ball and two stoppers of jars from L130, and the ‘Qumran lamps’ from L130. (2) The examples from L89 are all imported from Jericho (Group III). (3) Three vessels in L114 are made of Hebron-Motsa clay (Group II). (4) Two other vessels from L114 and two upper parts of inscribed jugs from L130 present the Edom-Nabatea chemical composition (Group IV) and apparently came from Petra.

The conclusions from the NA analysis of all the Qumran pottery from Khirbet Qumran and the caves (ca. 320 samples) (115) are significant in their findings: (1) no actual clay used for the pottery was found at the site; (116) (2) only a third of the analyzed pottery was locally made. (3) “There is no difference in the chemical composition between the pottery analyzed from the Khirbet Qumran and the

(106) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 4:9.

(107) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 4:7.

(108) Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 23, table 3.

(109) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” figs. 1:1-4.

(110) Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 23.

(111) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 1:5; Lemaire, “Inscriptions” 363-4.

(112) Gunneweg and Balla, “Possible Connections,” 392.

(113) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” figs. 1:16, 3:9 respectively.

(114) Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 22.

(115) Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” and “Possible Connections.”

(116) Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 6,8.

caves.” (117) (4) several examples—four samples from the kiln linings, 2 clay balls, 2 samples of local puddle-marl and Dead Sea mud, a stucco-lined ceiling, three oven covers, and four samples from the inside and outside of a “scriptorium” table found in L2—all have the same chemical composition as the pottery assemblage, all being local Qumran, Chemical Group I, made of material locally available at the site. (118)

One of the main distinctive factors/elements of the Qumran community sect were, scholars believe, the purity rules which also governed the vessels they used. As already mentioned the large amount of tableware indicates that the sectarian community believed that drink and food convey impurity; for this reason they needed so many vessels, as found in pantries L89 and L114.

Broshi (119) contends that the potters’ workshop with two kilns producing the Qumran pottery indicates the settlers’ concern with purity. Magness (120) follows Broshi’s proposal by claiming that the Qumran “inhabitants produced their own pottery to ensure its purity.”

However, these conclusions are in doubt since the published NAA conducted by Gunneweg and Balla refer to the pottery origin and provenance as originating from various other sites. It is apparent from the NAA research that the pottery recovered at Khirbet Qumran and the caves was not all produced at the Qumran pottery workshops; (121) on the contrary, the NAA established that about 2/3 of it was imported. Hence, the assumption that the pottery at Qumran had to be manufactured at the site to ensure its purity is challenging.

It is also important to consider Michniewicz’s study of the petrographic and chemical provenance of the Qumran and Jericho pottery. (122) He maintains that the ceramics of Qumran and Jericho are indistinguishable by site, as the same varieties of raw material are

(117) Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 24.

(118) Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 8, table 1.

(119) M. Broshi, “Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery? The Consensus and its Challengers, An Archaeologist’s View,” in *Caves of Enlightenment: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947-1997)* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, 1998), 24-25.

(120) Magness, “Community Meal,” 91.

(121) It is important to Note that Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 162-164, maintain that of the two kilns found in L84, only the small kiln (in the northwest corner of the locus, their new no. 917) is a pottery kiln, while the large kiln L64 (now no. 918) is a lime furnace (or kiln).

(122) Jacek Michniewicz, *Qumran and Jericho Pottery: A Petrographic and Chemical Provenance Study* (Poznan: Adam Mickiewicz University Press, 2009), 118, 141, 142.

used at both. He also contends that “the results obtained do not offer an unequivocal answer to the question of where the ceramics discovered in Qumran and Jericho were made. They were certainly produced from several varieties of raw material;” he further argues that types of common wares and the ‘scroll jars’ from Qumran “were made of pure rich clay which certainly does not derive from Wadi Qumran,” and concludes that “There are no clues that would allow even a part of the vessels to be ascribed to a workshop in Jericho or Qumran.”

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to consider it simpler and safer to move clay or raw material from one place to another than to transfer complete vessels (123).

5.2. *Parallels to the Qumran Pottery*

It is imperative to compare the Qumran pottery uncovered in L89, L114 and L130 to pottery of some other Judaean sites, especially Jericho, the site from which quite a number of vessels were apparently imported.

Qumran bowls, plates, and cups found in L 89, L114, and L130 are comparable to the pottery of the types of tableware popular at Jericho—small or large bowls and plates, which include about 2000 intact bowls and plates found in the Hasmonaean Palaces at Jericho in several water installations, mostly *miqv'aot*.

(1) *Bowls* (Fig. 3): The Qumran deep, hemispherical, small and large bowl, with an incurved rim, rounded sides, and flat or ring base, white-washed, is found at L89—one group of 12 bowls (KhQ 1549) and a second group with about 708 bowls (KhQ 1601), among them a bowl with the Hebrew name ‘Elazar’ inscribed before firing (KhQ 1650); (124) a group of 110 bowls from L114; two bowls from L130, and about 12 bowls from L130-1B, 2A, 2B, 3A, 3B, 4A, 5A, 5B, 6A. (125)

A small deep bowl with incurved rim, carinated body and flat base, found in Qumran L130-3A (126) is similar to the most common small bowl type at Jericho, J-BL3A3, dated to HS1 and HS2 (100-35 BCE). (127)

(123) See also note 95.

(124) Lemaire, “Inscriptions,” 356; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pl. 42:3.

(125) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” figs. 1:14, 17; 2:11, 12; 4:1, 4, 6, 9, 12; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 42:4-6-L89; Pl. 54:2, 10, 60:3, 63:4-L130.

(126) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 1:7; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 56; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pl. 59:3.

(127) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 85-7, 183, pls. 14-15: nos. 199-228; color plate V:5.

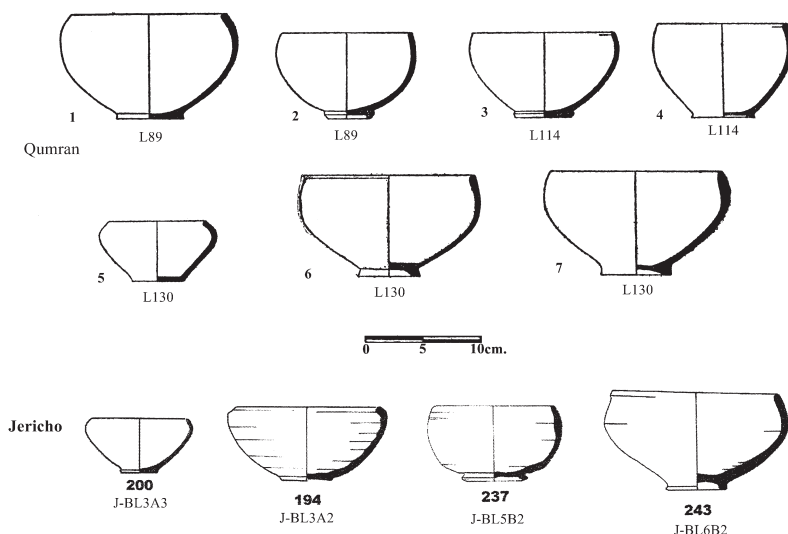


Fig. 3. Bowls—compare Qumran and Jericho
(after De Vaux, “Fouilles,” Figs. 1-4; Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, Pls. 14-15).

These Qumran deep, hemispherical bowls (128) are similar to Jericho bowls Type J-BL5, especially J-BL5B2; (129) No. 236 is dated by Bar-Nathan to the Hasmonaean period (HS2, 85/75-31 BCE), while No. 237 is ascribed to HRI (31-15 BCE). Bar Nathan notes “that this bowl (J-BL5) is absent from first-century CE contexts at Jericho.”

Another Qumran hemispherical, large bowl type (130) is similar to Jericho bowls Type J-BL6, dated to the later stages of the Hasmonaean palace complex, more common in the Herodian 1 period. (131) Similar bowls (Types A1, A2) were found in Type I Tombs at the Jericho cemetery, dated to the 1st century BCE. (132)

Similar bowls were also found in Areas A, E, W, X-2 of the Jewish Quarter in the Old city of Jerusalem, dated to the 2nd – 1st centuries BCE: bowls of Type BL1, (133) some found with plates BL2 in

(128) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” figs. 2:11, 12; 4:4, 6, 9, 12.

(129) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 86-89, pl. 15, nos. 236-237.

(130) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” figs. 1:14, 17; 2:3; 3:10, 12; 4:1.

(131) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 89-90, pl. 15, nos. 242-243.

(132) A. E. Killebrew, “The Pottery,” in *Jericho—The Jewish Cemetery of the Second Temple Period* (R. Hachlili and A. E. Killebrew; Jerusalem: IAA Reports 7, 1999), fig. III. 56:1, 2.

(133) Hillel Geva, “Hellenistic Pottery from Areas A, W and X-2,” in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982*.

the Hasmonaean *miqveh* L65 in Area A. (134) Similar small hemispherical and carinated bowls were found in the Jerusalem Burnt House (Area B, Str.2, 1st century CE). (135) At Masada similar bowls are found. (136)

(2) *Plates* (fig. 4): A large group of carinated plates (or shallow bowls) with flat or low ring base from L89 (KhQ 1591, about 205 plates) and L114 (KhQ 2576, 2577, about 39 plates (137) are similar to Jericho plate types J-PL1B2, J-PL2, (138) dated to the later stages of the Hasmonean palace complex (HS2, 85/75-31 BCE), and continuing in use into the first half of Herod's reign (HR1, 31-15 BCE). They may have been unique to this period as they disappeared towards the end of the 1st century BCE.

A small plate with an infolded rim, and flat base appears in Qumran L130-B5 (1) with bones. (139) This plate is similar to Jericho types J-PL1A3, J-PL1B3, a large group of small plates found in the Jericho Hasmonaean palaces, in several water installations, mostly *miqva'ot*, dated to the Hasmonaean period (HS2, 85/75-31 BCE) and the first half of Herod's reign. (140)

Vol II. The Finds from Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report (ed. Hillel Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003), 137-138, pls. 5.3:18-22; 5.4:34-38; 5.6:8, 20; 5.7:7; 5.8:40-41; 5.9:27-28; 5.10:32-33.

(134) Hillel Geva and Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Local Pottery from Area A," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982. Vol II. The Finds from Areas A, W and X-2, Final Report* (ed. Hillel Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003), 186-188, pl. 6.2:37-45. Hillel Geva and Malka HersHKovitz, "Local Pottery of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Area E," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982. Vol III: Area E. Final Report* (ed. Hillel Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), 108-109, pls. 4.5:7-9; 4.8:2; 4.9:14-15; 4.10:12.

(135) Hillel Geva, "Early Roman Pottery," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982. Vol IV. The Burnt House of Area B and Other Studies, Final Report* (ed. Hillel Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2010), 127, pl. 4.6:2-4.

(136) R. Bar-Nathan, *Masada. Vol. VII. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Report. The Pottery of Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), types M-BL1B, M-BL2.

(137) De Vaux, "Fouilles," figs. 2:5-7; 4:2, 5, 7. Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pl. 42:1, 2, 9-26.

(138) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 93, 97, pl. 16: nos. 264-265, 270, ill. 73.

(139) De Vaux, "Fouilles," figs. 1:9, 10; 3:1, 3, 4; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 56; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 54:1-7; 55:1; 56:1-3; 59:1-2; 60:1-2; 63:2-3; 64:1; 65:1. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, 178, plate Type 53 H, from Qumran L130, dated to 50-31 BCE.

(140) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 91, 93-7, pl. 16: nos. 252-263; Ill. 71.

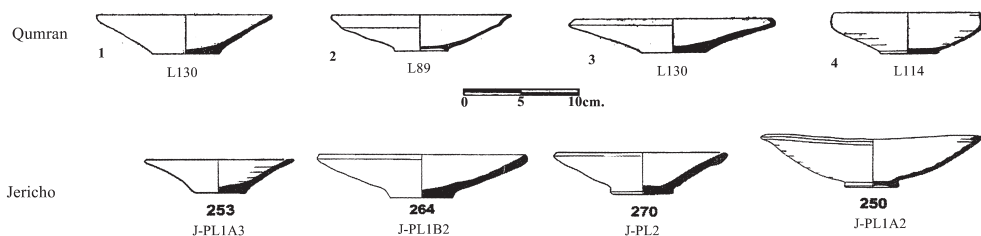


Fig. 4. Plates—compare Qumran and Jericho
(after De Vaux, “Fouilles,” Figs. 1-4; Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, Pl. 16).

Similar plates (though termed bowls) were found in Areas A, E, W, X-2 of the Jewish Quarter in the Old city of Jerusalem dated to the 2nd – 1st century BCE: Type BL2; (141) some found with bowls BL1 in the Hasmonean *miqveh* L65 in Area A. (142)

(3) *Cups* (Fig. 5): About 75 similar Qumran cups/goblets, with outcurved rim and disk base, delicate flaring wall, white-covered, were found in L89. (143) Small and large cups were discovered in L130-1A, another cup with straight rim and ring base was found in L130, and yet other cups were recovered from L130-3A, 3B; (144) two large cups from L135 were found with bones (145); two cups with everted rim were discovered in L114. (146)

These Qumran cups are similar to Jericho cups J-CU1C—with more thickened and less flaring wall and disk base—J-CU1D cup with thickened wall and flat base—found in a Herodian context, and dated to the first half of Herod’s reign (HR1, 31-15 BCE). (147) Similar though larger cups, some with paint, were found in Area E of the Jewish Quarter in the Old city of Jerusalem. (148)

(141) Geva, “Hellenistic Pottery,” 138.

(142) Geva and Rosenthal-Heginbottom, “Hellenistic Pottery from Area A,” 188-189, pls. 6.6:15, 17-25; Geva and Hershkovitz, “Local Pottery,” 108-9, pls. 4.5:2-6; 4.8:1; 4.9:13; 4.10:11.

(143) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 2:8-9; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pl. 42: 27-36.

(144) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 1:12,13; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 56; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 54:8; 55:1-2; 59:4-5; 60:4.

(145) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 3:7-8; De Vaux, in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 59; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pl. 69:7.

(146) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 4:10, 13.

(147) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 98-100, pl. 16, nos. 275-277, ills. 76-77.

(148) Geva and Hershkovitz, “Local Pottery,” 109-110, pls. 4.8:16-7; 4.9:12.

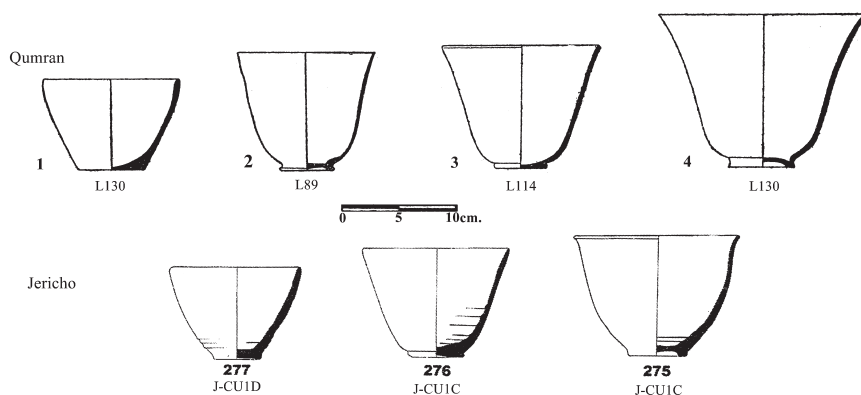


Fig. 5. Cups—compare Qumran and Jericho
(after De Vaux, “Fouilles,” Figs. 1-4; Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, Pl. 16).

(4) *Jugs*: At Qumran eleven examples of a large globular jug with straight rim, broad handle and omphalos base (KhQ 1574) were recovered from L89; smaller inscribed jugs (KhQ2416, KhQ2417, missing the base) were found in L130 – 2A, and in L114. (149)

At Jericho similar smaller jugs Types J-JG1A, J-JG1B and J-JG1C are found in Hasmonaean and Herodian contexts, dated to the 1st century BCE. (150) They also appear in cistern 745 Stratum 5 and in Stratum 3 of Area E of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. (151)

(5) *Cooking pots*: Several closed bag-shaped cooking pots, with simple rim and globular body, were found with bones in L130, in Period Ib: L130-2A (152), L130-5A (2), and a larger cooking pot from L130-4A (4). (153) There are other cooking pots from L130. (154)

At Jericho similar cooking pots were found in the Hasmonaean palaces in miqveh A/A209-A/A243, Type J-CP1 and J-CP2 (155)

(149) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” figs. 2:1; 1:5; 4:3; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pl. 44 – L89; pl. 56:6-8 – L130-2A; Lemaire, “Inscriptions,” 363-364.

(150) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 38-40, pl. 8:56-58.

(151) Geva and Hershkovitz, “Local Pottery,” 96, pls. 4.1:1-4; 4.10:6.

(152) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 1:16; 3:5.

(153) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 3:9.

(154) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 54:12; 56:9; 58; 59:8,9; 60:3-6,8; 61:10-13, fragments; 63:6-7, fragments. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, 187 dated the Qumran cooking pots type 71.1, K2 to 50-31 BCE.

(155) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 68-70, pl. 11: nos. 132, 133.

dated to HS1 (100-95/85 BCE). A similar cooking pot was found in the Jericho cemetery, dated to the 1st century BCE. (156)

At the Jewish Quarter of the Old city of Jerusalem Areas A, W, X-2, similar cooking pots were recovered. (157) Similar cooking pots were found at the Jerusalem Burnt House (Area B, Str. 2, 1st century CE). (158)

(6) *Kraters*: 37 examples of open kraters with everted triangular rim, hemispherical body, concave ring base, no handles, and white-covered (KhQ 1676), were found at Qumran in L89 and another was found in L114. (159)

Similar kraters were recovered at Jericho, types J-KR1A and J-KR1B dated to HS2 (85/75-31 BCE) and HR1 (31-15 BCE). (160) Fragments of similar vessels defined as 'large bowls' were found in Area A, Stratum 3 of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, dated to the first half of the 1st century BCE and continuing into the 1st century CE. (161)

A large deep casserole with wide mouth, averted rim and four loop handles (KhQ2358, base missing) was found at Qumran L130-4A, with bones (162) Similar deep casseroles were recovered from Jericho with only two loop handles, characteristic of the 1st century BCE. (163)

(7a) *Storage jar*: Eight examples of a small storage jar (KhQ 1678A-F, about 40 cm high) with everted rim, short neck and wide mouth, two loop handles on the shoulder, and a ring base, some white-covered, were found in L89. (164) Two similar storage jars are found at Jericho Type J-SL8A, C in Herodian contexts in the pool of a ritual bath and in the Industrial Area, dated to HR1 (31-15 BCE) but might be earlier. (165)

(156) Killebrew, "The Pottery," 117-8, fig. III.58:1, 4.

(157) Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery," 134, CP 7; Geva and Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Hellenistic Pottery from Area A," 180, pl. 6.2:24-26; 6.5:38-41; at Area E similar cooking pots were discovered dated to the 1st century BCE, Geva and Hershkovitz, "Local Pottery," 110-111, pls. 4.5:17-20; 4.9:12.

(158) Geva, "Early Roman Pottery," 125, pl. 4.5:8-9.

(159) De Vaux, "Fouilles," figs. 2: 2; 4:15; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 269-270, pl. 43.

(160) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 76-78, pl. 13: nos. 171-173.

(161) Geva and Hershkovitz, "Local Pottery," 108, pls. 4.10:15-16; 4.12:10.

(162) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 3:14; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 318, pl. 60:7.

(163) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, J-CS1B, 73-74, pl. 13: nos. 158-162.

(164) De Vaux, "Fouilles," fig. 2:10; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 46-47.

(165) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 34-35, pl. 7, nos. 44-45, ills. 23, 24.

(7b) Thirteen small bag-shaped storage jars (KhQ 1677), slightly larger, over-folded rim, long narrow neck, loop handles below the shoulder, and rounded or pointed convex base, white-covered, were found in L89. (166) These jars were common in many sites in the country. Similar storage jars appear at Jericho Type J-SJ7A in Herodian contexts (167) and at the Jericho cemetery; (168) a similar storage jar was discovered at Area E Stratum 3 of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. (169)

These two groups of storage jars are smaller and wider, some white-covered, yet very different: The first group, consisting of 8 examples (KhQ 1678) has a wide mouth, short neck and ring base, which means the jars could stand on the floor, and it was easy to put in and take out the contents, but spilling was likely. The second group, of 13 examples (KhQ 1677) with narrow mouth and rounded or pointed convex base must have been embedded in the floors of storerooms or placed on stands; they contained grain or liquids, and their narrow mouth prevented the contents from spilling over. (170)

(8) *Lamps*: Eight lamps found in L130 are of a type termed ‘Qumran lamp’ (Fig. 6) inspired by Hellenistic lamps; (171) the lamp is wheel-made with an elongated nozzle with a ridge, a raised flat base and a loop handle shaped by hand; one lamp found in the ashes was covered with white wash, (172) and two similar lamps were recovered from Cave Q1. (173)

About 39 similar lamps were recovered in Qumran and belong to the ‘Qumran lamp’ type—the second typological group (032-035) of ca. 200 lamps from Qumran in Mlynarczyk’s research. (174) These lamps belong to her sub-types 0.32, 0.33.2, 034.1, 034.2, 035, dated to the 1st century BCE; to De Vaux’s Period Ib (100-31 BCE); and to Humbert’s Level 2/Phase A, B and level 3/Phase A (104-30 BCE). (175)

(166) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 48-50.

(167) Bar-Nathan 2002:33, pl. 7, nos. 42.

(168) Killebrew, “The Pottery,” 123, types B1 and C, fig. III. 63:3-5, fragments.

(169) Geva and Hershkovitz, “Local Pottery,” 104, 4.12:1.

(170) Magness, *Archaeology*, 81-83.

(171) Found in solid ashes in levels 2B and 3A, 130.2; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 309.

(172) De Vaux, “Fouilles,” fig. 1:1-4; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 54:15, 59:3, 10, 12, 13, 15; 62:15, 16.

(173) Roland De Vaux, “Archaeological Finds” in *Qumran Cave I* (ed. Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik; DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), fig. 3:4, 5.

(174) J. Mlynarczyk, “Terracotta Oil Lamps from Qumran: The Typology,” *RB* 120 (2013): 99-133.

(175) Mlynarczyk, “Terracotta Oil Lamps,” 101-108, 125; figs. 1, 2.

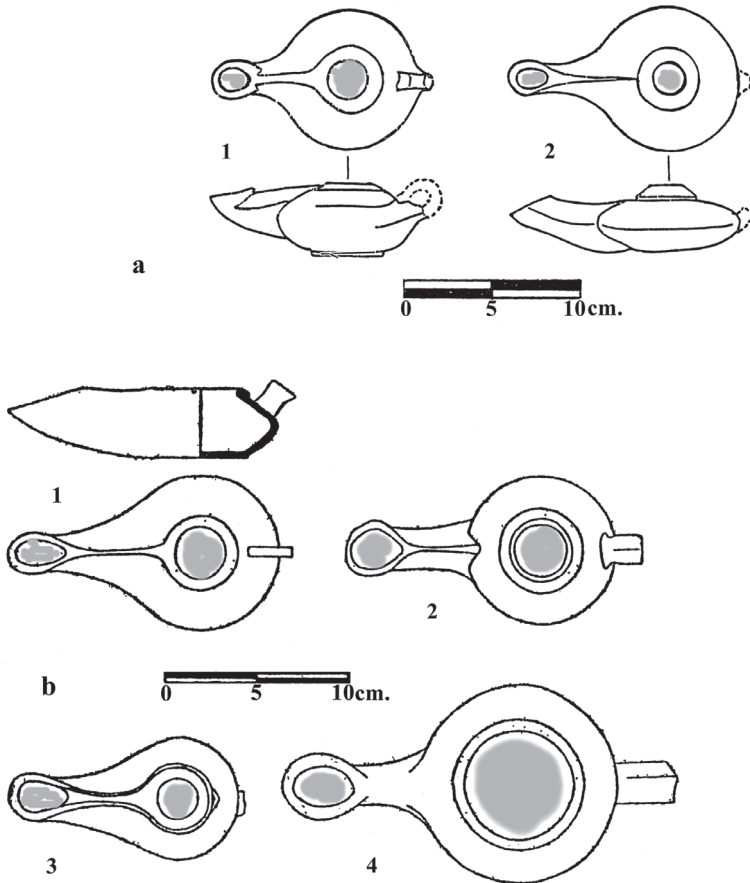


Fig. 6. 'Qumran lamps': a. lamps from Cave Q1 (after Barthélemy and Milik, *DJD I*, Fig. 3); b. lamps from Khirbet Qumran L130 (after De Vaux, "Fouilles," Fig. 1).

Magen and Peleg found a similar lamp (type 0.33) in Qumran's north-western refuse dump. (176)

These Qumran lamps are similar to four fragmentary Jericho lamps, three of Type J-LP3A1, and one of Type J-LP3A2 dated to the Hasmonaean period (HS2) and Herod's reign. (177) A similar lamp

(176) Magen and Peleg, "Back to Qumran," 69, fig. 3.14, left; Magen and Peleg, *The Qumran Excavations*, pl. 5:2.

(177) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 110-112, pl. 18, nos. 299-302, ills. 87-88; Bar-Nathan, "Qumran and the Hasmonaean," 266, fig. 15.3.

with broken nuzzle was found in Area E of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. (178) A similar front part of a lamp was found at Masada. (179) Lapp dated the lamps to 50-31 BCE. (180) Magness suggests that these lamps should be dated to the post-31 BCE phase II of Period Ib. (181)

Mlynarczyk (182) rightly notes that these lamps are fragmentary and scarce in Jericho, Jerusalem and Masada, thus probably should be dated to the Hasmonaean or early Herodian period. She further argues that the much larger number of lamps found at Qumran indicates that the workshop producing the lamps was in Qumran. (183) However, the NAA research found that two of these lamps (KhQ2206 and KhQ 5087) from Qumran L130 were imported from Jericho, Group III. (184) Michniewicz contends that these lamps are made in workshops using the same two varieties of clay raw material like all other lamps from Qumran and Jericho. (185)

Three 'Herodian' lamps found in L114 (KhQ2579a-c, now lost) Mlynarczyk type 036.4 (dated ca.1-68 CE), are compared to Masada type C VI. (186)

These are the conclusions regarding the Qumran pottery from L89, L114, L130 discussed above: (1) The pottery vessels, especially bowls, plates and cups, recovered from L89, L114 and L130 are quite similar to one another in shape, size and general appearance, and many more such vessels were found in other loci at Khirbet Qumran and in the caves. (2) The Qumran vessels are quite similar to many of the types of ceramic vessels found in Jericho in the Hasmonean period and the first half of Herod's reign, and in some areas of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. Based on the comparison between them and the NAA results, the pottery of both Qumran and Jericho suggests that many of those ceramic vessels were produced by the same workshop at Jericho. (187) Based on their homogeneity it is perhaps possible to assume that the vessels ensemble from L89 was produced in

(178) Geva and Hershkovitz, "Local Pottery," 113, pl. 4.6:5.

(179) D. Barag and M. Hershkovitz, "Lamps from Masada," in *Masada IV. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports* (ed. J. Aviram, G. Foerster and E. Netzer; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 71-72, no. 124, fig. 21.

(180) Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, pl. 84.

(181) Magness, "Communal Meals," 104.

(182) Mlynarczyk, "Terracotta Oil Lamps," 103-105.

(183) See also R. H. Smith, "The Household Lamps of Palestine in Inter Testamental Times," *BA* 27 (1964): 124.

(184) Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 23.

(185) Michniewicz, "Terracotta Oil Lamps," 60.

(186) Barag and Hershkovitz, "Lamps from Masada," 52-53, fig. 11.

(187) Also suggested by Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 100.

Jericho and imported to Qumran. (3) De Vaux dated Qumran pottery of L89, L114, L130 to Period Ib; Magness redates L89 to Period Ib, Phase I (80 or 50-31 BCE), while some pottery types from L114 and L130, L135 might be slightly later, dating to Period Ib, phase II (31-9/8 BCE). (188)

The comparable Jericho pottery is dated by Bar-Nathan to late Hasmonaean (HS2, 85/75-31 BCE) and the first half of Herod's reign (HR1, 31-15 BCE). (189) Bar-Nathan claims that the Qumran ceramic vessels together with the numismatic, historical and stratigraphic evidence indicate that the Qumran site was occupied in Period Ib and II without any gap during Herod's reign. (190) Bar-Nathan holds that the pottery from Qumran Period Ib "is almost identical in date, shape and character to that of Hasmonaean-period" pottery of the royal palaces at Jericho. (191) Therefore, she dates "the establishment of the two sites to the same period, i.e. the time of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76); she maintains that the similarity in the pottery might designate "that both sites were supplied by the same workshop at this period."

Humbert and Chambon date the large pottery ensemble from L89.4 (and the pottery found in 86.1, 87.1 and 185.4) to Level 3C (1-68 CE); the pottery in the ash and the yellow sediment found in L130.2 is dated to Levels (2B)/3A/B (= 56/40-10 BCE). (192)

Pfann (193) maintains that "the statistics of the two pantries (L89 and L114) imply that at meal times the Qumran community was subdivided into groups of ten. This is implied by the limit of one communal cup for each group of 9 or 10 participants." Pfann (194) records the food consumed at Qumran: grapes, wine, olives, dates and date honey, figs, vegetables, legumes, herbs and spices, salt, meat and fowl; he suggests a likely location for the kitchen in the installations of L125 and the adjacent *miqveh* L118. He concludes that based on archaeological, literary and historical data "the Essences did live at Qumran and that clearly they engaged in agricultural activity."

Regev (195) noted that De Vaux's total ceramic count (including L86 and L114) contained: tableware 84%, storage jars 9%, cooking pots and kraters 7%. In addition, vessels were scattered in many other loci, with about 460 bowls, plates and cups, amounting to 65% of vessels in all loci (excluding L86 and 114). Regev maintains that although some

(188) Magness, *Archaeology*, 123; Magness, "Communal Meals," 92.

(189) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 91-93.

(190) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 204.

(191) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 264, fig. 15.1.

(192) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 266, 309.

(193) Pfann, "A Table," 164.

(194) Pfann, "A Table," 175-178.

(195) Regev, "The Archaeology of Sectarianism," 181-183, fig. 1.

of the pottery was made at Qumran it is difficult to explain why 84% of the vessels are tableware, and the fact that the 65% of tableware vessels (219 bowls, 146 plates and 94 cups) were scattered in other loci (excluding loci 86, 114) “indicates that these vessels were in daily use.” Regev compares vessels in many other sites in the country, and claims that nowhere are the proportions of tableware as high as the 84% of Khirbet Qumran.

However, at Jericho, the tableware in the Hasmonaean palaces “constitutes more than 50% of the entire corpus of pottery... approximately 3,000 intact bowls and plates were found in the water installations alone.” (196)

Regev further observes that the amount of tableware (1087 bowls, 375 plates and 225 cups) surpasses the number of diners, considering that usually 100-150 people are estimated to have assembled for a meal. (197) Regev claims that the use of one bowl by one person indicates “a distinctive mode of dining... that food consumption and dining were highly regulated, reflecting a special structure... the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran conducted ritual meals with many participants.” Regev (198) asserts “that the abundance of tableware in Kh. Qumran may be related to a complex hierarchical structure of ritual meals in which participants emphasized their social solidarity and the exclusion of outsiders.” He further contends that the total number of more than 1600 tableware items is higher than might be expected in a small village, and concludes that “Thus, the character of the meals reflected in the tableware found at Kh. Qumran is consistent with the social features of a sect.”

Noticeable is the unique and distinctive trend of white covering (wash or paint) seen on many of the vessels from L89 and L114 and a few from L130 as well as other pottery vessels at Qumran (already noticed by De Vaux in his presentations of the pottery). (199)

Following are some examples of white-covered vessels showing different uses of this covering: some were completely covered in white on the outside only, some had a wide strip on the upper part of the vessel inside and out, some had only large or small spots of white outside:

(196) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 86, 96; 2006:266.

(197) Regev, “The Archaeology of Sectarianism,” 184-186.

(198) Regev, “The Archaeology of Sectarianism,” 188-189.

(199) I was able to check the Qumran pottery stored at the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, in Autumn 2015 with J.-B. Humbert (Ébaf), and with the help of A. Sabeirago, the Museum Curator.

In L89: A good example is a cup (KhQ 1587), made of red clay painted white on the outside and showing some paint spots under the rim inside; several cups had a small white strip on the upper part and on the outside and inside rims. (200) Several cups have a ridge in the center and are white washed completely on the outside or only from the ridge up to the rim. Bowls (KhQ 1601-37, KhQ 1601-84) were whitewashed completely outside, or only on the lower part (KhQ 1601-38). A krater (KhQ 1676-3) was whitewashed outside and on the rim inside. (201) Several of the storage jars (KhQ 1677 and KhQ 1678) are either completely white-covered outside or have some spots of white outside and on the rim. (202)

Vessels from L114: Bowls KhQ 2581-18 and 2581-23 have a white wide strip outside on the upper part of the bowl, while bowls KhQ 2591-8, 9, 11 are made of grey clay, KhQ 2581-8, 9 are white-washed outside, while KhQ 2591-11 with no white wash. Bowls KhQ 2581-1, 2 are white-washed only outside; Bowl KhQ 2581-7 and KhQ 2582 have some white spots on the inside.

Vessels from L130: A storage jar (KhQ 2287) with many air bubbles found in 130-2A, was white-covered outside and on the rim. (203) A unique kind of open-mouthed jar from L130-5A is covered in white. (204)

What was the white material that covered so many of these vessels? Was it paint, which is quite possible in some cases (such as on the cups and bowls)? Or perhaps white wash or slip, or some chemical addition?

Pfann (205) records that 85% of the vessels in both pantries L89 and L114 had white surfaces (by slip or by firing), which he interprets as follows: "at least for this community, the color was intended to indicate the special use or purity of such vessels at the site (more than 71% of the pottery census within the entire main building had whitened surfaces)." Pfann's interpretation seems quite reasonable.

However, the unique, distinctive phenomenon of the white covering of the majority of the Qumran vessels raises again the question of the origin and provenance of that pottery. Does it indicate that the Qumran pottery was produced at a single location? Was it the Qumran settlers themselves who manufactured the vessels in their potters' workshops, possibly to ensure their purity?

(200) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 278, pl. 51.

(201) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 270, pl. 43:3.

(202) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 45-47, 50.

(203) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 57, 58:11.

(204) Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, pls. 63:8, 66:8.

(205) Pfann, "A Table," 164.

6. Concluding Remarks

6.1. It is clear that the crushed and damaged pottery deposit in L89 was left on the floor in its original remarkably organized condition possibly after the earthquake of 31 BCE. It is also quite apparent that the pottery was connected to the adjacent dining/assembly room (L77).

L114 is another slightly later pantry, in which only about 220 vessels were left, again without any attempt to retrieve or remove them from their location. Perhaps the adjacent room L111—which had a southwest bench and a cupboard that was changed from what had earlier been a door—might have been utilized as a dining room, for which L114 was the pantry. (206)

Why were these large collections of more than 1000 items in L89 and about 220 vessels in L114 left as is in the pantries? Especially if as Magness argues the site was not abandoned after the earthquake of 31 BCE, but immediately restored, and many of the damaged buildings repaired. Why then were none of the still intact vessels salvaged or reclaimed? Why were the pottery deposits not removed, the area not cleaned? Perhaps because the Qumran settlers were afraid of contamination, of being tainted by the damaged pottery, of becoming impure if the pottery was touched. Since a much smaller number of vessels were found in L114, perhaps less people (only about 1/5 of the earlier number) participated in the communal meals.

As no other large deposit of pottery was reported at Qumran, the main question is what happened after 31 BCE and later? Was there no longer a need for large quantities of vessels and/or tableware? Was it because communal meals were suspended or cancelled? Or possibly a change of custom occurred and from then on, each person was in charge of his own dishes and kept them with him, so that there was no need for a communal storeroom, but he could attend the meals with his own dishes. Perhaps, during the (large or small) assumed gap a different group of people—either a divergent sector of the sect or another group altogether—settled in the area, a group which did not practice the communal meals and therefore did not need that many vessels.

If we accept Magness's (207) debatable suggestion—that L77 (with the pantry in L89) continued to be used, and an upper story in loci L111, L120-L123 (with the pantry in L114) and open-spaced loci L130, L135 were used as dining rooms during the 1st century CE, in Period II—there is still a question regarding the whereabouts of all the

(206) De Vaux in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 49.

(207) Magness, *Archaeology*, 126.

tableware used in the assumed later communal meals? No other large collection of pottery like the one found in L86-89, but dated to the 1st century CE or later, was discovered at Qumran.

A different aspect is expressed in the dating of Qumran proposed by Humbert and Humbert and Chambon: no earthquake occurred in 31 BCE, thus there were no abandonment and no gap; the pottery assemblage of L89 was left in the room before the destruction in 68 CE. (208)

6.2. Scholars attempted to compare the Qumran pantries in L89 and L114 to a somewhat similar occurrence of a collection of large numbers of ceramic vessels in *miqva'ot* pools and loci found at Jericho and Jerusalem. At Jericho the majority of the pottery collection was found in ritual baths (*miqva'ot*), cisterns, pools and some loci of the Hasmonaeen Palaces; a large number of vessels were found, the majority being small bowls, plates and cups, usually dated to Hasmonaeen period 1, stages 2, 3 = HS1 (100-95/85 BCE), (209) which are similar to the vessels found in L89, L114 and L130 at Qumran.

The earliest collection was found in a layer of sediment in *miqveh* A(A) 209 - A(A) 243, in the northeastern corner of the main Hasmonaeen palace of the Buried Palace (built in Stage 2). These two pools comprised the *miqveh* consisting of A(A) 209—a stepped pool' and A(A) 243—the *otzar*; at ca. 50 cm. above the floor of this *miqveh*, in a layer of silt, about 1136 intact vessels—small bowls (747), small plates (389), 10 cooking pots, one cup, one storage jar fragment, and one unguentarium—were found dumped/ buried at the beginning of Stage 4 (95/85 BCE) during the building of the Fortified Palace. Hence, the pottery from this *miqveh* dates not later than 85 BCE, and did not exist prior to ca. 100 BCE. The pools became a dump for vessels which probably fell into them, and were never retrieved, probably buried with the palace at Stage 4 during the building of the Fortified Palace. Netzer (210) explains that “the value of the vessels was small, and people using the *miqveh* simply didn't bother to retrieve them.” (211)

(208) Humbert, “Reconsideration,” 444, fig. 11; Humbert and Chambon, *Khirbet Qumrân*, vol. IIIA, 266.

(209) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 5-8; E. Netzer and R. Bar-Nathan, “Stratigraphy and Chronology of the Winter Palaces at Jericho,” in *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho. Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations. Vol. III. the Pottery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 14-16.

(210) E. Netzer, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho. Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations. Vol. I. Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2001), 43.

(211) Netzer, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces*, 39-43, ill. 55-56, 60-61; Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 4-5, n. 14, appendix II: 205-206, pl. I; Netzer and Bar-Nathan, “Stratigraphy,” 15.

In Pool A(C) 94 a large collection of 1054 vessels was recovered: small bowls (723) and small plates (331) “accumulated gradually during the pool’s last period of use.” The pool continued in use until the end of the Hasmonean period in 31 BCE. (212)

A large number of varied vessels, many intact—small bowls (156) and small plates (42), a rhyton and 3 mortars—were deliberately dumped in *miqveh* A(B) 64, most of them in the south pool in Stage 6; the *miqveh* continued in use throughout Stage 7 (Stages 5-7 = HS2- Hasmonaean 2-85/75 – 31 BCE), with some changes; the pottery might have originally come from the Fortified Palace household, and been hidden or dumped as garbage. (213)

An assemblage of pottery—about 103 small bowls and plates—was found in the ashes chucked in pits or garbage dumps in Furnace Room A(B) 93 of the Hasmonaean Bathhouse in the Western Garden; the bathhouse went out of use and turned into a garbage pit. The pottery might belong to HS2 (85/75-31 BCE (Stages 5-7). (214)

Locus A(B) 272, to the east of the Pool Complex’s Eastern Garden, yielded about 129 bowls and 203 plates in the lower levels used as a garbage pit. The pottery is earlier than Stage 6, HS2. (215)

A total of about 1846 bowls and 1084 plates were found in the above described *miqva’ot* and loci. (216)

A similar group of bowls with some plates was found in *miqveh* L65 (Area A) in the Upper City of Jerusalem, some of them intact and others broken under the collapse of fallen ashlar from the roof. Another water installation in Area V contained a large number of pottery bowls and other vessels. (217)

Yet another significant example is the hundreds of glass vessels, the refuse of a glass workshop found in a ritual bath (*miqveh* L.1364) in the westernmost part of Area J, the Jewish Quarter in the Old City

(212) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 6; Netzer and Bar-Nathan, “Stratigraphy,” 15.

(213) Netzer, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces*, 117-123, plan 124, ills 163-171; Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 5-6, notes 20, 23, appendix II: 209-210, pls. V-VII; Netzer and Bar-Nathan, “Stratigraphy,” 15.

(214) Netzer, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces*, 107-108; Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 7; Netzer and Bar-Nathan, “Stratigraphy,” 16.

(215) Netzer, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces*, 133; Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 7, notes 20, 23; Netzer and Bar-Nathan, “Stratigraphy,” 16.

(216) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 85-86, bowls, pls. 14-15, nos 199-228; plates, pp. 91-96, pl. 16, nos. 252-263, 266.

(217) N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Shikmona, 1983), 74-75, figs. 45-46; R. Reich, “Hellenistic to Medieval Strata 6-1,” in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982. Vol. I. Architecture and Stratigraphy: Areas A, W and X-2. Final Report* (ed. Hillel Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2000), 89-90, photo 2.78.

of Jerusalem. The *miqveh* was covered entirely with grey plaster. After the *miqveh* went out of use, grey silt was found on the bottom with several complete ceramic vessels; later it was intentionally filled with layered fill (about 70 cm.) of some organic material, containing a large amount of glass refuse, including complete small objects and fragments, and about 100 coins of Alexander Jannaeus (104-76 BCE). The *miqveh* went out of use slightly earlier than the rest of the structures in the same area. Based on the ceramic and numismatic evidence, the glass finds are dated to the mid-1st century BCE. It is apparent that this refuse was collected from a nearby (unfound) non-active workshop and dumped all together into the *miqveh* pool. (218)

A similar find at Qumran is L58 a cistern isolated from cistern 56, which was re-plastered, possibly after the earthquake of 31 BCE. At the top and half-embedded in a sediment deposit, two groups of ceramics were found: one group at the northwest corner and the other in the middle of the eastern wall. De Vaux (219) concludes that “these pottery items had been thrown together into the cistern at the time that it had gone out of use, probably at the end of Period II, in 68 CE, “possibly by the Romans. It seems that L58 also served as a pit/ditch into which pottery was thrown.

Bar-Nathan (220) compares the Jericho ensemble of about 1000 complete bowls and plates found in the *miqveh* A(b)209 - A(b)243 with the Qumran pantry L89; she rejects the notion that the vessels found in L89 are connected to the communal dining of the sectarian Essenes. She notes that in the Hasmonaean palaces at Jericho, tableware was more than 50% of the entire pottery find. Bar-Nathan (221) explains the large amount of bowls and plates found in the Jericho *miqva'ot* as indicating a possible connection to Hasmonaean laws of impurity or the cleanliness and purification rites stated in some unknown tenet of the Sadducean sect; there might even have some link with certain eating customs of Second Temple period, of the priests (*kohanim*) in Jerusalem, of the royalty/priests of the Hasmonaean palace, or of some sects such as the Essenes and the priestly Sadducees.

(218) Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, 186-192, figs. 216-223; Y. Israeli, and N. Katsnelson “Refuse of a Glass Workshop of the Second Temple Period from Area J,” in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982. Vol III. Area E. Final Report* (ed. Hillel Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), 413-431, pls. 21, 1-21, 27.

(219) De Vaux, *Archaeology*, pl. xxiv in *Khirbet Qumran. English Edition*, vol. IB, 32-33.

(220) Bar-Nathan, “Qumran,” 266, fig. 15.4.

(221) Bar-Nathan, *The Pottery*, 5, 79, 86; “Qumran,” 272.

Analyzing the pottery examples found in *miqva'ot* at the Hasmonaean palaces at Jericho and at the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem, and evaluating the rather odd explanation by Bar-Nathan, it seems questionable that the vessels were placed in a *miqveh* for certain purification rites and then were left there permanently. What ritual could there be, if you never use the vessels again? Furthermore, if the *miqveh* is filled with vessels, nobody can get in and exercise the ritual purity custom of immersion in the *miqveh*.

Thus, it is much more reasonable to assume that the *miqva'ot* with all the ceramic (or glass) vessels had nothing to do with purity laws; they just served as pits and ditches into which all these vessels were chucked, thrown or dumped. It seems more reasonable that some places (rooms, storerooms, or pantries) were cleaned up and the pottery which was not necessary anymore was dumped into the available pits, i.e. *miqva'ot*, cisterns, pools etc.

The question remains: What was the reason or incentive for the inhabitants of the Hasmonaean palaces at Jericho to chuck/dump such a large quantity of tableware into the *miqva'ot* and leave it there? Possibly it occurred when the vessels—found in *miqveh* A(A) 209 - A(A) 243 and which came from the Hasmonaean Buried Palace—were buried/dumped during the building of the Fortified Palace, which replaced the older palace in 95/85 BCE. Another group of vessels like those found in Furnace Room A(B)93 and *miqveh* A(B)64 were dumped at the end of the Hasmonaean period. (222)

Nevertheless, as there is no evidence whatsoever those vessels were placed in a *miqveh* and retrieved or salvaged from it, purity ritual could not and should not be considered. Another assumption might be that these vessels had been contaminated in some way, forcing the residents to get rid of them and chuck them in a hurry into any available open pit, or they might have specially chosen the *miqveh* as a purifying space (though no ritual custom is known for purifying clay vessels). The simplest answer is that in most cases the *miqva'ot* pools were an easily available garbage pit.

6.3. *In conclusion*, the archaeology data examined—the extremely large amount of pottery found in the Qumran pantries L89 destroyed by the earthquake in 31 BCE and L114 destroyed by fire in 9/8 BCE, the dining room in L77, the animal bones in several areas and the pottery with bones from L130—all date to Period Ib; the pottery is dated to the 1st century BCE by comparison to similar vessels from Jericho and Jerusalem. These facts indicate that communal ritual meals were possibly

practiced during the 1st century BCE. However, no evidence exists for this custom also during the 1st century CE; no large pottery assemblage dating to the 1st century CE was found; though some dining rooms are assumed to exist in second floors of some loci, after the earthquake, such a postulation is not convincing.

On the other hand, the dating proposed by Humbert, (223) that the pottery of L89 belongs to his Level 3, Phase C (1-68 CE, possibly after 40 CE) and was destroyed in 68 CE contradicts the dating of the pottery assemblage to the 1st century BCE based on comparisons to the dated pottery from Jericho and Jerusalem (and some other sites).

The NA analysis and the comparable ceramic vessels from Jericho and Jerusalem are helpful in dating the pottery assemblages from Period Ib at Qumran, but are entirely different. The Qumran assortments were found assembled and stored in the rooms where they were demolished, while the Jericho and Jerusalem collections were dumped into available pits (the *miqva'ot*, cisterns and pools).

Why were many of the Qumran ceramic vessels from L89 and some pottery from L130 imported from Jericho (according to the NAA)? Possibly, the Qumran inhabitants at the time trusted the Hasmonaeans' care for the required purity rules for the pottery; that could replace the notion presented by Broshi and Magness that the Qumran pottery had to be produced locally to satisfy the sect's rules of purity.

Another important question is: when did the community meal take place? According to Josephus (*War* 2.128, 131-132) in the morning "before the sun is up" and in the evening. That is quite an order and difficult to conclude. To have two meals a day for the whole community would have been rather unusual at such an early date. It also would have been very difficult to arrange for the meal, to organize the large collection of pottery so neatly; handling all those dishes twice a day for storage in L89 would have been quite a burden on the community.

It is worth considering Humbert's (224) proposal that these vessels were used on the pilgrimage (by the nearby Dead Sea diaspora) for the *Shavuot* (offering of first-fruits) celebration, or *Sukkoth* (the harvest celebration); however, the animal bones deposits indicate to him the celebration of Passover. Perhaps the proposal can be expanded to encompass the yearly celebrations at Qumran of all three pilgrimages (usually to the Jerusalem Temple)—at *Sukkot*, *Passover* and *Shavuot*—attended by other members of the sect/s from all over the country. This would also clarify the large quantity of vessels in L89 (too large for the small size of the community as suggested by scholars).

(223) Humbert, "Reconsideration," 444, fig. 11.

(224) Humbert, "Some Remarks," 36-38.

The evidenced lack of communal meals in the later period (1st century CE) might imply a change in the sect laws and customs (similar to changes and developments in the Rule of the Congregation), or that in the 1st century CE, a different group of inhabitants (though possibly a section of the same sect) reoccupied Qumran (after a short period of desertion? the 'gap'?).

The data presented might indicate that two different sect groups inhabited Qumran: the first, original sect occupied the site for most of the first century BCE; the second group inhabited the site later in the 1st century CE, following most of the site's original plan. Yet some changes were noticed in the architectural, ceramic and numismatic items recovered, as well as some of the community social rules and customs, including the communal meal. Hence, a cautious suggestion offered here is that at the end of the 1st century BCE, a different segment of the sect, or a group related to the original sect, turned up to occupy Khirbet Qumran, but this community did not share or participate in the communal meal; or perhaps there was a change of custom and each community member kept his own dishes with him and brought them to the meals so that there was no need for a communal storeroom.

Rachel HACHLILI
University of Haifa

NEW LIGHT AND SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE LIST OF FALSE PROPHETS (4Q339)*

Abstract

This article advances an old–new reconstruction of the debated line 9 of the “List of False Prophets” (4Q339) on the basis of a fresh look at the text, made possible by the new photographs published by the Leon Levy Digital Library project. This reconstruction is then reinforced by arguments from the field of the study of lists that are brought into the discussion of this text, as it engages several claims previously made in scholarship regarding the form of the List of False Prophets and the internal order of prophets therein.

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THE small piece of parchment found in Cave Four at Qumran designated 4Q339 and named the “List of False Prophets” has been the subject of much scholarly discussion, relative to the shortness of its text: nine lines, in different degrees of preservation. (1)

(*) I would like to thank Prof. Eibert Tigchelaar for his helpful comments and suggestions made during the preparation of this article. The arguments, as well as any errors that might remain are, of course, my own.

(1) Magen Broshi and Ada Yardeni, “339. 4QList of False Prophets ar”, in Magen Broshi et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX), Oxford: Clarendon, 1995, 77-79. See also: Magen Broshi and Ada Yardeni, “On *netinim* and False Prophets”, in Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin and Michael Sokoloff (eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995, 29-37 [= updated version of eidem, *Tarbiz* 62,1 (1993), 45-54 (Hebrew)]; Alexander Rofé, “The List of False Prophets from Qumran—Two Riddles and their Solution (רשימת נביאי השקר)”, *Haaretz* (13/4/1994), B:11 (Hebrew); Elisha Qimron “On the List of False Prophets from Qumran”, *Tarbiz* 63,2 (1994), 273-275 (Hebrew);

The first line reads, in Aramaic, “(The) False prophets that have risen against (2) Israel”, the list’s title, and the remaining lines 2-9 hold the list’s items: names and titles of seven or eight figures, written in Hebrew. (3) The scholarly discussions of this text to date engage the reading of the letters and names in the text and several issues that stem from the different readings: the list-form and internal structure; the figures identified as false prophets; as well as possible implications in the fields of bilingualism, scribal techniques and the use of scripture and historiographical approaches in Herodian times. (4)

Ever since the first publications in the mid-1990s, there is a general agreement on most details of the text, except for the two divergent reconstructions of line 9. Each stage where better images of the scroll have been made available to scholars has also provided cases of some formerly reconstructed letters that have become readable. This article

idem, “More on the List of the False Prophets from Qumran”, *Tarbiz* 63,4 (1994), 508 (Hebrew); Shaye J.D. Cohen, “False Prophets (4Q339), Netinim (4Q340) and Hellenism at Qumran”, *JGRChJ* 1 (2000), 55-66 [=idem (ed.), *The Significance of Yavneh and Other Essays in Jewish Hellenism* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 136), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 93-102]; idem, “Hellenism in Unexpected Places”, in John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling (eds.), *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001, 216-243, esp. 217-223; Aharon Shemesh, “A Note on 4Q339 ‘List of False Prophets’”, *RQ* 20 (2001), 319-320; Géza G. Xeravits, “From the Forefathers to the ‘Angry Lion’: Qumran and the Hasmonaeans”, in Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér (eds.), *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology—Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pépa, Hungary, 9-11 June, 2005* (JSJ Supp. 118), Leiden: Brill, 2007, 211-221; Hanan Eshel, “The Succession of High Priests: John Hyrcanus and his Sons in the Peshet to Joshua 6:26—Appendix: The List of False Prophets (4Q339) and John Hyrcanus”, in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008, 88-89; Armin Lange, “‘The False Prophets Who Arose against our God’ (4Q339 1),” in Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (eds.), *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June-2 July 2008* (STDJ 94), Leiden: Brill, 2010, 205-224.

(2) This translation follows Shemesh, “Note”. See also Lange, “False Prophets”, 205.

(3) The left-hand bottom corner seems to suggest possible room for up to two or three more lines, yet the empty space below the final letters of line 9 makes this less probable, and the text probably ended with line 9 (similarly also Lange, “False Prophets”, 220). The number of prophets depends on the understanding of line 9. See more below.

(4) The script is identified as Herodian (Broshi and Yardeni, DJD XIX, 77), and thus the accepted dating of the text is the Herodian period (see also, most recently, Lange, “False Prophets”, 205, 216-217). Some of the discussions of historical implications depend upon the reconstruction of line 9 as referring to John Hyrcanus I. As the current writer subscribes to the opinion that this reconstruction is not substantiated, and another is to be preferred (see more below), this line of commentary will not be further pursued here.

continues on this path, and makes use of the new photographs published by the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library project (5) in identifying more letters than was previously possible. In this process, it advances an old–new reconstruction of the debated line 9, as well as engages several claims previously made in scholarship regarding the form of the List of False Prophets and the internal order of prophets therein.

I—Reading of 4Q339

This discussion will naturally start with my reading of the text with my translation, followed by detailed comments on lines where this reading differs from that of Broshi and Yardeni's in DJD XIX (in all cases other than those limited to the evaluation of readability of letters):

1 (The) False prophets that have risen against Israel	1 נביאי [ש]קרא די קמו בִּישְׂרָאֵל
2 Balaam son of Beor	2 בלעם בן בעור
3 [The] old man of Bethel	3 [ה]זקן שְׁמִבִּיתֵאל
4 [Zede]kiah son of Che[na]anah	4 [צד]קיה בן כְּנָנִי
5 [Aha]b son of K[ola]jah	5 [אחא]ב בן קִיֹּה
6 [Zede]kiah son of Ma[a]seiah	6 [צד]קיה בן מַעֲשִׂיָה
7 [Shemaiah the Ne]hlemite	7 [שמעיה הנ]חֲלִמִי
8 [Ḥananiah son of A]zzur	8 [חנניה בן עז]ור
9 [the prophet from Gibe]on	9 [הנביא אשר מגב]עון

Line 1: This reading follows most existing readings. (6) Lange reads the last word באלה[נ], with Puech (7). However, the penultimate א is clear, and the rest of the letters, although only partially preserved, seem to agree with the reading בישראל. (8)

(5) <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q339-1> (last accessed 20/2/2016).

(6) Broshi and Yardeni, “On Netinim and False Prophets”; idem, DJD XIX. See also Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Leiden: Brill and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998, 708–709.

(7) Lange, “False Prophets”, 206.

(8) There might be merit to Eibert Tigchelaar's observation (not yet published; mentioned in conversation) of the possibility of an (erroneous) additional letter between the readable letters בִּישְׂרָאֵל. However, this reading should be kept. The present writer would like to advance the possibility that the several ink signs between the ב and the bottom part of the ש, represent parts of the letters ף and ש that were distorted and literally torn-apart as the parchment was distorted and torn (similar to the process of distortion that caused the difference of direction and size of letters that can be clearly observed in the upper-right part of this text).

Line 2: Broshi and Yardeni (DJD XIX, as well as their previous publications) fully reconstructed the word [בן], while Lange reads [ן]. In the new photos both letters of the word בן can be seen, thus proving the initial reconstruction to be correct. This text is now clearly shown to follow the Hebrew Bible tradition of referring to Balaam in a Hebrew form, בלעם בן בעור, (9) rather than the Aramaic form, בלעם בר(-)בער, found, so far, only in the Deir-‘Alla “Book of Bala‘am Son of Beor” (Combination I, line 4). (10)

Line 3: Following Lange and Puech (apud Lange). The new photos indeed confirm an additional letter before מ(ביתאל). ש (11) is the best fit.

Line 9: This reconstruction follows the content of Broshi and Yardeni’s reconstruction (DJD XIX, following Qimron, “More on the List of the False Prophets”), but applies the original Hebrew version of Hananiah’s title, as it occurs in Jer 28:1. The reconstruction of this line will be discussed in more detail in section II, below.

II—The Old-New Reconstruction of line 9 in relation to the List’s Form and Internal Order

The contents and language of the reconstruction of line 9 depend upon the understanding of the text’s make-up as list. What is undisputed is that 4Q339 is a list by form, and that it is bilingual — having elements in both Aramaic and Hebrew. The title of line 1 is in Aramaic, (12) and

(9) בלעם בן בעור—Num 22:5, 31:8, Deut 23:5, Josh 13:22, 24:9, Mic 6:5, see also בלעם בנו בער—Num 24:3, 15 and the form בלעם בנבעור in the quote of Num 24:3 in 4QTest I 9. The form בלעם בן בעור is also kept in Rabbinic literature, not only in Biblical quotes, but also in the Sages’ discussions of Balaam (see, e.g., y. *Sanh.* 10:2, 29a; *Sipre Deut.*, 357 [Louis Finkelstein, *Sifre on Deuteronomy*, New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1969 (Berlin: Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1939), 430]).

(10) For editions see Jacob Hoftijzer and Gerrit van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ‘Alla*, Leiden: Brill, 1976; Jo Ann Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ‘Allā* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 31), Chico: Scholars, 1984 (esp. 25-27, 33-34). More recently, see, e.g., Émile Puech, “Bala‘am and Deir ‘Alla” in George H. van Kooten and Jacques van Ruiten (eds.), *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 11), Leiden: Brill, 2008, 25-47 (esp. 40-45); Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, Jerusalem: Carta, 2008, 433-465 (esp. 439-440), and literature within.

(11) The letter מ(ביתאל) may also be read as a ב. Both prepositions are linguistically possible. See also the reference to this figure as “וְנִבִּיאַ אֶחָד זָקֵן יוֹשֵׁב בְּבֵית אֵל” in b. *Sanh.* 57a.

(12) More to the point of bilingualism, it is Aramaic that exhibits elements of Hebraism. See Christian Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Schriften der Hochschule für jüdische Studien Heidelberg 11), Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2008, 66.

the items in lines 2-8, and as this writer contends, also line 9, are written in Hebrew. (13)

Also undisputed is Broshi and Yardeni's reconstruction of lines 2-8. Most importantly, there is a scholarly consensus accepting their convincing reconstruction of line 8 as **חנניה בן עזר**, a reference to Hanaiah, that like Ahab son of Kolaiah, Zedekiah son of Maaseiah and Shemaiah the Nehlemite, who precede him in this list, is also mentioned in the book of Jeremiah as a rival prophet to Jeremiah. For line 9, of which the three final letters **ען**— remain, two suggestions have been made: the first is **ען**—[**יהוה חנן בן שמעון**], a reference to John Hyrcanus I. This reconstruction was first presented by Rofé and Qimron, (14) and has been advanced by Xeravits and Lange. (15) Others, however, have justifiably fully rejected it for having no viable basis. (16)

The second reading that has been suggested is **ען**—[**נביא דין מן גב**], 'The Prophet of Gibeon'. This reading was first offered by Qimron, (17) and then accepted by Broshi and Yardeni in DJD XIX. It is based on understanding line 9 as the continuation of the reference to Hananiah in line 8, and is a scholarly Aramaic translation (18) of Hananiah's title from Jer 28:1, "**הנביא אשר מנבען**". The choice of reconstructing this title in Aramaic is not explained, but is assumingly due to the Aramaic of line 1, and the subsequent classification of the entire text as a text in Aramaic. (19) However, as all figures mentioned in this list, starting with Balaam, as the text has now been clearly shown to read, occur in a Hebrew form, this choice of language should be abandoned. Therefore, accepting the reconstruction of line 9 as referring

(13) That this is a bilingual text, with a clear cut between the languages, was observed by Lange (Lange, "False Prophets", 208-209, 220) and although his reasoning follows his adherence to the reconstruction of line 9 as **ען**—[**יהוה חנן בן שמעון**], rejected by the present writer, this observation still holds true. Lange also offers a good explanation as to how this linguistically-hybrid text could have been penned by a single scribe (ibid, 209).

(14) See Rofé, "List of False Prophets", and Qimron "On the List of False Prophets".

(15) Xeravits, "From the Forefathers", 218-219; Lange, "False Prophets".

(16) The first to reject it was Qimron (Qimron, "More on the List of the False Prophets"). See also Eshel's cautious remarks on this issue (Eshel, "The Succession of High Priests", 88-89).

(17) Qimron, "More on the List of the False Prophets".

(18) The reconstruction's wording differs from both TJ ("**נבי שקרא דמנבען**") and the Peshitta ("**נביא דגלב**") of Jer 28:1. Both these translations read 'a/the false prophet from Gibeon', thus supporting the notion of Hanaiah as a false prophet. In other words, they support the reconstruction of lines 8-9, but not the wording of the reconstruction of line 9.

(19) See DJD XIX, 77. This classification of the text is kept by Xeravits, "From the Forefathers", 218.

to Hananiah (to which additional buttressing will be brought below), the original Hebrew version of this title is preferable to the Aramaic translation. (20) It should also be noted that [הנביא אשר מגב]עון is almost identical in letters and spaces to Qimron's and Broshi and Yardeni's [הנביא ד מן גב]עון. Thus, as the latter fits in the lacuna, so does the first. (21)

Keeping in mind that it is possible that neither one of these two reconstructions reflects the original text, but rather there was some third reading, now lost, (22) the reasoning brought forth in earlier publications for the reconstruction of Hananiah's title in line 9 is sound and it is convincingly the best option at this time (although, as said above, in Hebrew, not Aramaic).

But there is more. The major claim that has been brought against this reconstruction is that it goes against the form of the list, in which the previous items each hold one item, i.e. one false prophet, per line, while reconstructing line 9 as the title of Hananiah makes this last, seventh item occupy two lines. This situation, however, can be perfectly accepted. Several respondents to Lange's paper have already mentioned cases where items in one and the same list may take up a varied number of lines: notably Ben-Dov's examples of *pinakes*, (23) a genre which Cohen has also shown to be a good genre parallel to this list. (24) This argument will now be further substantiated, with the contribution of the study of the use and function of lists in Biblical literature.

In the Hebrew Bible we have several cases of lists, specifically 'compilation lists' (which may have started as a form of *pinax*), where for 'technical' reasons of balance, an item which is significantly longer than the others, usually due to additional material appended to the recurring formula of the list, changes its place within the list. Many times it is placed at the list's end. In this process, this longer item is

(20) This reading may have been suggested before: Qimron bases this Aramaic reconstruction on a conversation with an unnamed scholar who suggested to him the possibility of reconstructing 4Q339 lines 8-9 after Jer 28:1 (Qimron, "More on the List of the False Prophets"). It is unclear whether this anonymous scholar explicitly suggested the very reconstruction offered here (only that Qimron chose to reconstruct it in Aramaic).

(21) Understanding this line as a direct quote from Biblical tradition may explain the difference in the use of אֲשֶׁר in line 9 versus שׁ in line 3, which does not repeat any exact scriptural reference to the old man of Bethel (see 1 Kgs 13:11-32; see also the reference to this man in *b. Sanh.* 57a [brought in note 11 above]).

(22) As Jan Joosten correctly commented in the discussion section of Lange, "False Prophets", 221.

(23) See Lange, "False Prophets", 220.

(24) Cohen, "False Prophets"; idem, "Hellenism in Unexpected Places", 222-223. See also Broshi and Yardeni's comments in DJD XIX, 77.

taken out of its place in the list's internal sequence. Such a case occurs in 2 Sam 8:12, where the king of Zova is placed at the end of the list of the enemies beaten by King David in several wars, far away from his Aramean co-combatants (compare with 1 Sam 14:47). (25)

Another case where a longer item on the list may have been placed at its end due to its length can be observed in the list of those who are required to keep the Sabbath, according to Exod 20:10 and Deut 5:14. This list registers first people — "(you shall not do any work) you, or your son or your daughter, or your male *slave* or female slave", then moving to livestock — "or [Deut: your ox or your donkey or any of] (26) your livestock". The final item of the list, however, is again a reference to people: "*your* resident alien in your towns [literally: within your gates]". (27) That the item of the resident alien, or sojourner (Hebrew: גֵּר) occurs at the end of the list, after the livestock and not with the rest of the items that refer to people, may be explained in several ways: as a result of its being a late addition to the list, possibly in order to obtain seven items in a list referring to the Seventh Day, (28) or as a reflection of the sociological status of the גֵּר. (29) However, both these options can be contested: first, like the previous figures mentioned in the list, the alien resident is also mentioned as "**your** resident alien (within **your** gates)", thus as connected to the Israelite as the others. Second, just as changes were made within the list in regards to the ox and the bull, so could this item have been placed within the list after the slaves. Therefore, it is suggested here that the item regarding the alien resident is placed at the end of the list

(25) See the discussion of this list in my PhD dissertation: Shira J. Golani, "Lists of Persons within the Narrative of the Former Prophets", PhD dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2015 (chapter 2, section B) (Hebrew).

(26) Thus Deut 5:14 versus Exod 20:10 in MT. The versions have various emendations in both texts, in attempts to harmonize the two versions of this law (for the comparison of the textual witnesses, see, e.g., Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11* [AB 5], New York: Doubleday, 1991, 281).

(27) Translation taken from NRSV, with my alterations marked by italics.

(28) See Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, Israel Abrahams, trans., Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967, 245; Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus* (JPS Torah Commentary), Philadelphia: JPS, 1991, 112. This explanation fits the version of the law in Exodus, but not the longer version of the list in Deuteronomy (which may very likely include a deuteromic adaptation of the law as it occurs in Exod 20; see, e.g., Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11*, 308).

(29) Either as a weak component of society (see, e.g., John R. Spencer, "Sojourner", *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:104) or as one who is the furthest away from the Israelite: the children and livestock 'belong' to the Israelite, but not the גֵּר (thus, e.g., Ibn-Ezra [short and long commentaries] and Gersonides on Exod 20:10. See also Cassuto, *Exodus*, 245).

because it is significantly longer: unlike all other items that have one word, this item consists of three words. (30)

This is what probably happened with 4Q339: the list item regarding Hananiah includes both a full name (Hananiah son of Azzur) and a title (“the prophet from Gibeon”), which makes it longer than the other items in the list, that refer to false prophets by either name or title, but not both. The longer make-up of Hananiah’s item can be easily explained by the scribe’s acquaintance with (the traditions that found their way into) scripture, where the old man of Bethel remains nameless, and all named characters in the list, other than Hananiah, are mentioned without titles or epithets. (31) Hananiah’s item was significantly longer and thus, found its place at the end of the list.

The evidence adduced from the Hebrew Bible also helps in putting to rest one other issue that has troubled scholars in regards to this list: the internal order of the prophets in the list that does not follow scripture, either MT or LXX. (32) However, what needs to be emphasized is that Hananiah is the only one out of sequence, while the previous prophets listed in lines 2-7 keep scriptural order. (33) Therefore, the fact that Hananiah is the only prophet on the list that disrupts the scriptural order needs to be seen in light of the evidence that he is also placed at the (probable) end of the list, and that Hananiah’s is the only item that occupies two lines. All these facts join together to promote

(30) גרך אשר בשערך might be seen as equivalent to בנך ... בהמתך, and “אשר בשערך” as an addition to the list’s formula. See also, e.g., Neh 5:11, where the final item of the list of the items taken as usury that the Judeans must return to their brethren is in itself comprised of a list (a list within a list). This makes this last item significantly longer than the (outer) list’s previous items. Another example of a change in the order of items in a list, possibly due to their length (the number of deities) can be seen in the switching of the place of the towns of ‘Ava and Hamat from 2 Kgs 17:24 in their recurrence in the more complex, two-dimensional list in vv. 30-31 (this example is also discussed in my dissertation: Golani, “Lists of Persons”, chapter 4, section A).

(31) The one exception is the single reference to Balaam son of Beor as ‘the diviner’ (“בלעם בן בעור הקוסם”) in Josh 13:22, which like its parallel in Num 31:8 (that lacks this title of Balaam), is extraneous to and later than the main Balaam tradition of Num 22-24 (see, e.g., Alexander Rofé, “*The Book of Balaam*” [*Numbers 22:2-24:25*], Jerusalem: Simor, 1979, 49, 51, 69 [Hebrew]; Géza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* [Studia Post-Biblica], Leiden: Brill, 1961, 175-176).

(32) Lange, “False Prophets”, 207. Balaam—Num 22:1-25:9; 31:16; The old man from Bethel—1 Kgs 13:11-32; Zedekiah son of Chenaanah—1 Kgs 22:1-28; Ahab son of Kolaiah and Zedekiah son of Maaseiah—Jer 29[LXX 36]:21-23; Shemaiah the Nehlemite—Jer 29[LXX 36]:24-32. Hananiah son of Azzur is mentioned in Jer 28[LXX 35] and is, thus, out of place in this sequence.

(33) That is, the order of different books of scripture and within the book of Kings, which are presupposed by the chronological order, and the order within the book of Jeremiah.

the explanation that Hananiah's place at the end of the list and the list's internal order reflect scribal techniques in composing lists. (34)

This understanding of the list not only strengthens the reconstruction of line 9 with Hananiah's title. It also rebuts the need to assume that Hananiah's place at the end of the list is a result of compiling the list from memory rather than by consulting scripture, as suggested by Lange, (35) or any claim to obtain from this text information on the state of 'canonization', or lack thereof, of the book of Jeremiah or any other book of the Hebrew Bible. (36) On the contrary, this reconstruction of line 9 keeps the list not only within the Hebrew Bible, but also within the Biblical corpus treated in the list: the books of Numbers, 1-2 Kings and Jeremiah, (37) and therefore, it cannot teach us anything definitive about later literature. Moreover, the evidence of the scribe's use of titles and names as they are extant in scripture promotes the conclusion that, inasmuch as we can talk about scripture at that time, the scribe was familiar with 'scriptural' details when he composed his list of figures from the Biblical past.

In summary, the old-new reconstruction of line 9 with Hanaiah's title, הנביא אשר מנבען, complies with the language framework of the text of 4Q339, and has several additional advantages that reinforces its preference as the best reconstruction for this line. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, the seemingly problematic placement of Hananiah at the end of this compilation list of Biblical characters has been shown to comply with known scribal techniques.

Shira J. GOLANI

KU Leuven and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

(34) That Hananiah is the seventh figure in the list, and that the previous figures may be divided as **one** prophet from the Pentateuch, **two** from the book of Kings, and **three** from Jeremiah 29 might possibly also reflect a planned, rather than a coincidental structure (for this division of the list see Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, San Francisco: Harper-San Francisco, 1996, 323-325).

(35) Lange, "False Prophets", 207. This suggestion implies a supposition that had the scribe consulted scripture, his list might have followed a different, 'correct' sequence.

(36) Such as the previously raised question of the absence from this list of the false prophets mentioned in the book of Nehemiah (Lange, "False Prophets", 217; see also Qimron, "On the List of False Prophets", 275 n.1), as well as other supposed false prophets from the period between the false prophets mentioned in the list and the previously supposed last character, John Hyrcanus I (Lange, "False Prophets", 217).

(37) Understanding the list as registering figures mentioned in the Pentateuch and the books of the Prophets (or, from a historiographical point of view, only up to the Babylonian Exile).

INTERLINEAR ADDITIONS AND LITERARY DEVELOPMENT IN 4Q163/PESHER ISAIAH C, 4Q169/PESHER NAHUM, AND 4Q171/PESHER PSALMS A

The Qumran Pesharim are traditionally understood as compilations of exegetical material that derives from the Teacher of Righteousness and was recorded by his followers. An important impetus for this view is *Peshar Habakkuk's* claim that it contains the insights of the Teacher in “all the mysteries of the words of [God's] servants, the prophets” (1QpHab VII 5; cf. 1QpHab II 8–9). Two developments in the study of the scrolls have, however, challenged this traditional image. To begin with, the Teacher of Righteousness increasingly tends to be taken as an individual to be remembered, (1) a prototype of communal identity, (2) or an authoritative “voice,” (3) rather than a historical

Research for this contribution was carried out during my stay as Dirk Smilde Scholar at the Qumran Institute in Groningen. I thank Mladen Popović for his hospitality and the Smilde family and the Ubbo Emmius Fund for their support of my research.

(1) Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium (Durham, September 2004)* (ed. Stephen C. Barton, idem, and Benjamin G. Wold; WUNT 212; Tübingen: Mohr, 2007), 75–94; idem, “The Legacy of the Teacher of Righteousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Betsy Halpern-Amaru, and Ruth A. Clements; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 23–49.

(2) Jutta Jokiranta, “The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social Identity Approach,” in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context* (ed. Philip F. Esler; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2006), 254–63; eadem, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement* (STDJ 105; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 175–77.

(3) Florentino García Martínez, “Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The ‘Voice of the Teacher’ as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in some Qumran Texts,” in *The*

individual. (4) The idea of a historical Teacher inaugurating a corpus of scriptural interpretations does not sit well with this shift in approach: the Peshar commentators may portray the Teacher as an exegete (turning him into the *implied* commentator in the Pesharim) to accrue his status for themselves, (5) but this does not mean that the Pesharim and their contents go back to the Teacher. The Peshar commentators determine the image of the Teacher; the Teacher does not determine the contents of the Pesharim.

Secondly, the Pesharim are no unified compositions, but reflect a literary development. The *locus classicus* is 1QpHab II 5–10, which a range of scholars has argued to be a secondary addition to *Peshar Habakkuk*. (6) Other passages, like 1QpHab IX 3–7 (7) or 4Q169 3–4 I 6–8, (8) have also been suggested to be additions to an existing Peshar. These processes of literary development demonstrate that the Pesharim contain no closed collection of scriptural interpretations. Instead, they partake in *living exegetical traditions*, and expositions in the Pesharim are prone to ongoing alteration, addition, and subtraction. Scriptural interpretations in the Pesharim are echoes of lives lived forwards. (9) It is not the Teacher who determines their contents: the

Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts (ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–44.

(4) On this shift see now George J. Brooke, “Brian as a Teacher of Righteousness,” in *Jesus and Brian: Exploring the Historical Jesus and His Times via Monty Python’s Life of Brian* (ed. Joan E. Taylor; London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 127–40.

(5) See Pieter B. Hartog, “Peshar as Commentary,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies: Munich, 4–7 August, 2013* (ed. George J. Brooke et al.; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

(6) See already Florentino García Martínez, “El peshar: Interpretación profética de la Escritura,” *Salmanticensis* 26 (1979): 125–39 (137; see also n. 45); also H. Gregory Snyder, “Naughts and Crosses: Peshar Manuscripts and Their Significance for Reading Practices at Qumran,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 26–48 (39–40); Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 154; George J. Brooke, “Physicality, Paratextuality, and Peshar Habakkuk,” in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures* (ed. Sidney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, and Zlatko Pleše; OLA 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 175–93 (186).

(7) Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 165.

(8) Shani Berrin (Tzoref), *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 214.

(9) Cf. Hindy Najman, “Configuring the Text in Biblical Studies,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. Eric F. Mason et al.; JSJSup 153; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 3–22; eadem, “The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the ‘Canon’,” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 497–518 (esp. 515–18). On the basis of a diary entry by Søren Kierkegaard, Najman argues that philology must attempt to understand texts “forwards” as well as “backwards.” Understanding forwards, for Najman, has to

Pesher commentators themselves are the major players in these exegetical processes.

In this short note, I intend to adduce further evidence for the Pesharim as expressions of living and ongoing exegetical traditions. Also, I wish to illuminate the material procedures involved in the literary development of the Pesharim. To this end I present three examples of interlinear additions, in 4Q163/*Pesher Isaiah C*, 4Q169/*Pesher Nahum*, and 4Q171/*Pesher Psalms A*. Whereas these additions have often been understood as scribal corrections, I argue that they are additions—either by the scribe of the manuscript or by a different scribe or exegete—to an existing Peshar.

4Q163 23 ii 3–14 (10)

These lines quote and interpret Isa 30:15–18:

[כי]א כ[נ]ה אמר ה' קדוש ישראל בשובה ונ[ח]ת [תושען בה]שקט ובטח תהיה גבורתכמה ולוא אביתמה ות[ואמר] לוא כיא על סוס ננוס על כן תנוסן ועל קל נרכב על כן יקלו רודפיכמה אלף אחד מפני גערת אחד מפני גערת חמשה תנוסן עד אם נותרתמה כתרן על רואש הר וכנס על גבעה לכן יחכה אדוני לחנ[נכ]מה ולכן ירום לרחמכמה כיא אלוהי משפט ה' אשרי כול חוכי לו פשר הדבר לאחרית הימים על עדת ד[ורשי] החלקות אשר בירושלים ה[...]. בתורה ולוא יה[...]. לב כיא לדוש [...] התורה מאסו

[“Fo]r th[u]s said the Lord, the Holy One of Israel: ‘In returning and r[es]t [you shall be saved, in qui]etness and trust shall be your strength! But you did not want this and [said:] “No! For we shall flee on horseback”—therefore, you shall flee! and “We shall ride on the swift”—therefore, your pursuers shall be swifter! One thousand (shall flee) from the rebuke of one, from the rebuke of five you shall flee, until you remain as a flagpole upon a mountain top and like a sign upon a hill.’ Therefore, the Lord shall wait to show favo[ur] towards you. And therefore he shall rise to comfort you, for the Lord is a god of justice—happy are all those who wait for him” (Isa 30:15–18). The interpretation of the matter with regard to the latter days concerns the congregation of the S[ee]kers of Smooth Things, who are in Jerusalem [...] in the Torah and not [...] heart, for to tread [...] they despised the Torah.

do in large part with issues of literary formation and authorship. By focusing on the literary development of the Pesharim and the vitality of exegetical traditions, this note offers a modest attempt to understand these Qumran commentaries forwards.

(10) References to and quotations from the Pesharim follow Maurya Horgan’s edition in PTSDSSP 6B. Translations are my own.

Between lines 13 and 14, (11) the commentary adds a quotation of Hos 6:9aα, (12) with variants vis-à-vis MT: (13)

כִּיחֲכָה אִישׁ גִּדּוּדִים חֶבֶר כוהנים

Just as the troop member, the band of priests, lies in wait. (14)

The connection between Hos 6:9 and Isa 30:18 is the root חֲכָה. This root serves a central purpose in the Isaianic verse, where it describes God's refraining from showing favour ("the Lord shall wait

(11) There has been some debate on which line is the insertion. This debate finds its origins in John M. Allegro's *editio princeps*, where he presents הַתּוֹרָה מֵאִסּוּ as line 14a, thus suggesting that these words are the insertion. This contradicts Allegro's earlier conviction that the Hosea quotation is the insertion ("More Isaiah Commentary from Qumran's Fourth Cave," *JBL* 77 [1958]: 215–221 [219]) as well as his comment that "L. 14a has been inserted above l. 14 by the same hand" (DJD 5:25).

John Strugnell points out that "la note de J.M. Allegro contredit son texte à ce propos," but he does not abandon the suggestion that הַתּוֹרָה מֵאִסּוּ is the insertion: "Matériellement on attendrait que 'כִּיחֲכָה וְג' ... soit la ligne additionnelle—mais noter que la ligne avec 'הַתּוֹרָה' commence avec un retrait" ("Notes en marge du volume V des «Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan», " *RevQ* 7/26 [1970]: 163–276 [193]).

Eibert Tigchelaar points out to me (personal communication d.d. 3 March, 2016) that Allegro's line numbering is probably based on a mistake in the proofs of DJD 5, which found its way into the final publication. Placing "14a" one line up (in front of the Hosea quotation) would restore the original numbering. This is not the only case of flawed line numbering in DJD 5. Note also that "a-lines" are usually presented before, not after, the line to which they belong. Having line 14a precede line 15 is, therefore, a mistake. Tigchelaar's suggestion resolves the ambiguity in Allegro's edition and implies that Allegro still considered the Hosea edition to be the addition. On the basis of the distance between the lines in 4Q163 23 I agree with him and take the Hosea quotation to be the addition (so also Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* [CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979], 120; *DSSSE* 1:324; Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* [2 vols.; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010, 2013], 2:271).

(12) The quotation may have been longer, but this is uncertain.

(13) On these variants see Russell Fuller, "Textual Traditions in the Book of Hosea and the Minor Prophets," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 247–56 (252).

(14) Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:271 reads כוֹחֲכָה instead of כִּיחֲכָה, basing himself on LXX (ἡ γὰρ ὁμοῦς σου). His suggestion is problematic on the basis of the hermeneutics of this passage, which implies the root חֲכָה as the connecting factor between Isa 30:18 and Hos 6:9 (see below).

While I follow Horgan's reading כִּיחֲכָה, I find her understanding of the syntax of the passage difficult. It seems to me that אִישׁ cannot be the object of חֲכָה, as this would result in גִּדּוּדִים (in the plural) being the subject of a verb in the singular. Better is to take אִישׁ גִּדּוּדִים as a construct state with אִישׁ as its *nomen regens*. Hence my translation "the troop member" (cf. *DSSSE* 1:325; contrast Horgan's "as the raiders lie in wait for a man").

to show favour towards you”) as well as the desired attitude of God’s people (“happy are all those who wait for him”). This final part of the Isaiah passage stands in a contrastive relationship with the individuals mentioned in its interpretation in the Peshet: the “Seekers of Smooth Things” did *not* wait for the Lord. Therefore, the interpretation implies, God will have no mercy on the Seekers of Smooth Things.

The interlinear Hosea quotation accentuates the contrast between “those who wait for the Lord” in Isaiah and the Seekers of Smooth Things. The latter do not wait for the Lord, but “lie in wait” to harm other human beings. Thus, the Hosea quotation ties in well with this interpretation of Isa 30:18. However, from what remains of the context of this Hosea quotation in *Peshet Isaiah C* (which is, admittedly, not very much) we obtain no clues that the Hosea passage was left out due to some scribal mistake and later inserted between the lines. The absence of such clues lends support to Maurya Horgan’s position, who classified the addition of Hos 6:9a as “an interlinear gloss on the commentary.” (15)

George Brooke has argued that the addition of the Hosea passage served to draw a parallel between this interpretation of Isa 30 in 4Q163/*Peshet Isaiah C* and the interpretation of Isa 5 in 4Q162/*Peshet Isaiah B*. Both commentaries use the expression “they despised the Torah,” and Brooke writes:

In 4QpIsa^b ii 7–10 those who reject the law in Isa 5:24 are explicitly identified as the Scoffers in Jerusalem. If the Scoffers are priests, then it is not surprising to find that the writer of 4QpIsa^c glosses the interpretation of Isa 30:15–18 with Hos 6:9 with its band of priests (חֲבֵר כֹּהֲנִים), so as to make it refer to both the Seekers-After-Smooth-Things and to the priests.... Since it seems as if the supralinear addition is in the same hand as that of the body of the fragment what emerges is a conscious adjustment by the scribe of his exegetical tradition to take account of parallel Isaiah interpretations, even though he has to use Hosea to help make the connections. (16)

Brooke’s explanation of the Hosea addition in 4Q163 seems to imply that the interpretation of Isa 5 as it occurs in *Peshet Isaiah B* had existed in some form before 4Q162 was produced. (17) This is certainly possible

(15) *Pesharim*, 120.

(16) “Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; VTSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 609–32 (628).

(17) 4Q163 is palaeographically dated to 100–75 BCE (Brian Webster, DJD 39:372, 390), which makes it the palaeographically oldest manuscript of a continuous Peshet. The palaeographical date of 4Q162 lies between 50–25 BCE (Webster, DJD 39:373,

(especially because none of the Peshet manuscripts are autographs), but it is difficult to prove. Even if the connection with the interpretation of Isa 5 in *Peshet Isaiah B* is lost, however, the interlinear addition in 4Q163 23 ii testifies to the interests of the Peshet exegete and the literary development of *Peshet Isaiah C*.

4Q169 1–2 ii 3–5

These lines quote and interpret Nah 1:4aα, followed by a quotation of Nah 1:4aβ–b:

גוע[ר] בים ויוב[ישוהו פ]שרו הים הם כל הכ[תיים] [...] לעש[ות] בהם משפט ולכלותם מעל פני [הארץ וכל הנהרות החריב אמלל בשן] וכרמל ופרח לבנן אמלל

“He parch[es] the sea and dri[ed it up]” (Nah 1:4aα) Its [in]terpretation: the sea—it is all the Ki[tim ...] to execu[te] judgement on them and to eradicate them from the face of [the earth. “And all the rivers he dried up. Withered is Basan] and Karmel, and the blossom of Lebanon has withered” (Nah 1:4aβ–b).

The passage continues with an interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ–b, introduced by a *pēšer*-formula (4Q169 1–2 ii 5–9).

Between lines 4 and 5, some words from the final part of an interpretation section are added:

עם [כול מו]שליהם אשר תתם ממשלתם

with [all] their [ru]lers, whose rule will end.

As all letters visible in line 4 belong to the interpretation of Nah 1:4aα, the interpretation section to which this interlinear addition belongs must be concerned with Nah 1:4aβ. This passage was probably quoted at the end of line 4, which has not been preserved (cf. Horgan’s reconstruction above). Where, however, did the interpretation section start? At least three words (including a *pēšer*-formula) must have preceded the interlinear addition, which starts with עם “with.” Two suggestions have been made. Shani Tzoref, following André Dupont-Sommer, reconstructs the beginning of the interpretation in line 4, after the quotation

403). So, if the scribe of 4Q163 inserted the Hosea passage to draw a parallel with the interpretation of Isa 5 as it occurs in *Peshet Isaiah B*, this interpretation must have existed in some form before 4Q162 was produced. Cf. Brooke’s own comment that his suggestion “somewhat undermines Stegemann’s proposal that the composition reflected in 4QpIsa^c is earlier than that reflected in 4QpIsa^b” (“Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts,” 628 [n. 81]).

of Nah 1:4aβ. The interlinear addition, in her view, is a direct continuation of the interpretation in line 4: (18)

ולכלותם מעל פני [האדמה וכול הנהרות החרוב פשרו על הכתים]	4
עם [מון]שליהם ...	5a
אמלל ...	5

John Strugnell, in contrast, has suggested that the addition between lines 4 and 5 continues an earlier addition between lines 3 and 4: (19)

פשרו על הכתים]	4a
ולכלותם מעל פני [הארץ] וכל נהרות החרוב]	4
עם [כל מון]שליהם אשר תתם ממשלתם]	5a
אמלל וג"	5

Of these two options Strugnell's is the more plausible one. Gregory Doudna has shown that there is insufficient space in line 4 for the insertion of פשרו על הכתים or a similar formula. (20) Furthermore, it is problematic to assume that the scribe began to write this interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ, but omitted only its final part. Thus, the entire interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ must be an interlinear addition. (21)

Though this suggestion is not exactly novel, its implications have not yet been clearly spelled out. Neither the remaining context of this interpretation nor the reconstructed quotation of Nah 1:4aβ suggest that this interpretation section was left out by accident and later supplied by the scribe of 4Q169. (22) Instead, this interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ appears to be an addition to an existing Pesher. In an earlier stage of its literary development, *Pesher Nahum* presumably contained a quotation and interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ–b in its entirety. The scribe responsible for 4Q169, however, added an interpretation of Nah 1:4aβ

(18) *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran*, 41.

(19) "Notes en marge," 206.

(20) *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* (JSPSup 35; CIS 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 282–283 (esp. n. 310).

(21) So also Horgan, *Pesharim*, 168; eadem, PTSDSSP 6B:146 (n. 7); *DSSSE* 1:336; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:282.

(22) Shani Tzoref suggests that the interlinear addition occurred "presumably to correct the omission of a citation and interpretation of the second half of Nah 1:4" ("Pesher Nahum," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture* [ed. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman; 3 vols.; Philadelphia, Pa.: The Jewish Publication Society, 2012], 1:623–35 [627]). However, a citation of Nah 1:4aβ was never absent from *Pesher Nahum*, and the interlinear addition need not be a "correction" (its context in 4Q169 exhibits no indications of parablepsis or any other mistake the scribe could have made).

between the lines of this manuscript. (23) By so doing, this scribe altered the structure of *Pesher Nahum*: Nah 1:4a β was isolated from Nah 1:4b and came to serve as the lemma for the interpretation added between lines 3–4 and 4–5 of 4Q169 1–2 ii.

The reasons for this addition cannot be gauged with certainty. However, the phraseology of this interpretation of Nah 1:4a β parallels other passages in the Pesharim. Though the Kittim are not explicitly mentioned in what remains of the interlinear addition, they are the most likely subject of this interpretation of Nah 1:4a β . References to the Kittim occur in various Pesharim; (24) their rulers are mentioned in 4Q163 3–4 i 1–3, 1QpHab IV 5, 10, and perhaps 1Q16 9 1–2; and 1QpHab II 13–14 refers to “the dominion of the Kittim” (ממשלת הכתאים). The directions of these intertextual connections cannot always be reconstructed, but some of these references to the Kittim and their rulers may well have inspired the scribe of 4Q169 as he added this interpretation of Nah 1:4a β between the lines of this manuscript. Like the addition in 4Q163/*Pesher Isaiah C*, this addition points to the ongoing literary and exegetical development of the Pesharim.

4Q171 1–10 iii 2–8

A final example comes from 4Q171/*Pesher Psalms A*. 4Q171 1–10 iii 2–8 offer a quotation and interpretation of Ps 37:19b–20, divided into multiple lemmata and interpretations:

ובימי רעב יש[בע]ו כיא רשעים יובדו פשרו א[שר] יחם ברעב במועד ה[תע]נית
ורבים יובדו ברעב ובדבר כול אשר לוא יצא[ו משם] להיות [ע]ם עדת בחירו
אשר יהיו רשים ושרים ע[ל] ... צון בתוך עדריהם כלו כעשן כולו פשר על שרי
הר[ש]עה אשר הונו את עם קודשו אשר יובדו כעשן האוב[ד בר]ח

“And in days of famine they shall be sa[tisfi]ed, but the wicked shall perish” (Ps 37:19b–20a α). Its interpretation: t[hat] he shall keep them alive during famine, in the time of af[flic]tion, but many shall perish through famine and pestilence—all those who did not go [out from there] to be [wi]th the congregation of his chosen ones, who shall be chiefs and princes ov[er ...] sheep in the midst of their flocks. “All of them shall finish like smoke” (Ps 37:20b). The interpretation concerns the princes of wi[cked]ness, who oppressed his holy people, who shall perish like smoke evaporat[ing in the win]d.

(23) The interlinear addition is in the same hand as the body of the manuscript.

(24) See George J. Brooke, “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim,” in *Images of Empire* (ed. Loveday Alexander; JSOTSup 122; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 135–59.

A quotation of Ps 37:20aβγ is added between lines 4 and 5:

ואוהבי ה' כיקר כורים פשר[ו]

“And those who love the Lord are like the splendour of lambs”
(Ps 37:20aβγ). [Its] interpretation:

This interlinear addition has generally been taken as a scribal correction. Strugnell suggested that the original text of this passage read *עדת בחירו ואוהבי ה' כיקר כורים פשרו על עדת בחירו אשר וג'* and that the double occurrence of *עדת בחירו* caused “une haplographie accidentelle.” (25) The omitted words were later supplied between the lines. (26)

Considering that Strugnell's scenario is based entirely on reconstruction, (27) room remains to ponder alternatives. To understand the interlinear addition of Ps 37:20aβγ it is necessary, in my view, to consider the treatment of Ps 37:20 as a whole in *Pesher Psalms A*. On a first reading, this verse portrays the enemies of the Lord in a positive light (*יקר* being an unequivocally positive term). (28) So, there is an apparent contradiction between the prediction that the enemies of the Lord shall perish and the statement that they are “like the splendour of lambs.” (29) The Pesher exegete seems concerned to solve this

(25) “Notes en marge,” 214.

(26) Strugnell is followed by Horgan, *Pesharim*, 215; eadem, PTSDSSP 6B:14; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:302.

(27) Doudna has made a case for the originality of Ps 37:20aβγ in *Pesher Psalms A* on the basis of the structure of the Pesher and the contents of these lines. In his view, “the interlinear insertion clearly belongs in the text as originally composed. This can be reconstructed not only because otherwise part of the quotation is missing, but also because the end of the pesher—before the correction—assumes the existence of the missing words of the quotation” (4Q *Pesher Nahum*, 243).

In my view, the initial absence of Ps 37:20aβγ, though unparalleled in 4Q171, can be understood as a response to an exegetical problem in Ps 37:20, which the Pesher exegete sought to solve (see below). Moreover, the reference to “sheep in the midst of their flocks” does not require an explicit quotation of Ps 37:20aβγ, but may allude to its contents even when an explicit quotation is absent. See, e.g., 4Q174 1–2 + 21 i 10–12, which quotes parts of 2 Sam 7:11–14 and applies them to “the Shoot of David who stands with the Interpreter of the Law ... in the latter days.” This reference to the latter days is probably inspired by the use of *מליא* in combination with *יום* in 2 Sam 7:12aa (which the commentary may have read as: “your days are fulfilled”). However, 2 Sam 7:12aa is not quoted in the lemma in 4Q174. On the connection between *מלא* and references to the latter days see Berrin (Tzoref), *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran*, 156 (n. 80), 237.

(28) I am reasoning here on the basis of the MT. The quotations of Ps 37:20 in 4Q171 exhibit some variant readings, some of which are attempts to solve exegetical problems in this verse (see below).

(29) Or: “the splendour of pastures” (depending on which root is considered to be behind *כרים*). I speak of an *apparent* contradiction rather than a *necessary* one. For

problem. To this end he divides Ps 37:20 up into three parts. (30) Ps 37:20aa is combined with Ps 37:19b, creating a lemma that describes the different fates of the righteousness and the wicked in times of famine. Ps 37:20b stands on its own and foretells the certain doom of the wicked. The enigmatic middle part of the verse (Ps 37:20aβγ) is isolated from the predictions of doom in Ps 37:20aa and b, and appears to have fallen out from the stretch of scriptural quotations in 4Q171/*Pesher Psalms A*. The succession of Ps 37:19b–20aa and Ps 37:20b that results from this omission offers a smooth basis for interpretation, as it yields a neat contrast between the fates of the wicked and the righteous.

If this scenario is correct, an earlier version of *Pesher Psalms A* contained only a quotation of Ps 37:19b–20aa with its interpretation (4Q171 1–10 iii 2–6). However, a different scribe or exegete (31) noted the absence of Ps 37:20aβγ from 4Q171 and added it, with a *pēšer*-formula, between lines 4 and 5. In the process, he altered the text from “the enemies of the Lord” to “those who love the Lord”—a change which still reflects some unease with the meaning of Ps 37:20aβγ in its MT-like form. (32) The quotation and the *pēšer*-formula were meant to be inserted after **בַּחֲרִיר** in line 5. This insertion split up the earlier interpretation of Ps 37:19b–20aa: its first part (**פֶּשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר ... עַדְתָּ**; **בַּחֲרִיר**; lines 3–5) remained attached to its original lemma, while its second part (**פֶּשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר ... בְּתוֹךְ עֲדֵרֵיהֶם**; lines 5a–6) came to belong with the new lemma (Ps 37:20aβγ).

our purposes, it suffices to note that the Pesher commentator saw a contradiction here. Modern scholars have accounted for the meaning of Ps 37:20 by assuming that it evokes the image of either the perfect animals destined for sacrifice or the grass that would soon wither and pass away.

(30) The structure of 4Q171 may support the idea that the exegete had problems when he interpreted Ps 37:20. With the sole exception of Ps 37:9 in 4Q171 1–10 ii and Ps 45:2 in 4Q171 1–10 iv (which are both divided in two parts), all lemmata in 4Q171 coincide with Masoretic verse boundaries. The division of Ps 37:20 into three parts may express the difficulties the commentator had with this verse. Cf. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004; repr., Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 325 (Appendix 7).

(31) The hand of the addition differs from that of the body of the manuscript. See Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 214.

(32) The change from “the enemies of the Lord” to “those who love the Lord” creates a smoother connection between this part of Ps 37:20aβγ and the positive reference to **יִקְרֶה כֹּהֲלָיִם**. Eibert Tigchelaar (personal communication d.d. 3 March, 2016) suggests that a confusion between *heh* and *waw-yod* (note the unexpected shape of the *heh* in **אוֹהֲבֵי**) may have caused this alteration. For me, these explanations are not mutually exclusive: a graphical similarity between letters may have worked together with the exegetical trigger to yield the change from **אוֹהֲבֵי** to **אוֹיְבֵי**.

Conclusion

The preceding observations lend further support to viewing the Pesharim as open-ended exegetical works, partaking in living and continuous traditions of scriptural interpretation. These three interlinear additions are physical expressions of such traditions and illustrate the shape that literary developments in the Pesharim may assume—though without claiming that this is the *only* form in which these could occur. Finally, these additions shed light on scribal practices and the inclusion of exegetical additions in ancient manuscripts. Such additions may be rare in biblical manuscripts, (33) but these three cases testify that interlinear exegetical additions did belong to the toolkit of ancient scribes.

Pieter B. HARTOG
Leuven/Groningen

(33) See Emanuel Tov, “Glosses, Interpolations, and Other Types of Scribal Additions in the Text of the Hebrew Bible,” in *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr* (ed. Samuel E. Balentine and John Barton; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 40–66; repr. in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 53–74.

A NEW READING OF GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1Q20) 20.10: SYNTAX, SEMANTICS AND LITERARY FUNCTION*

IN Genesis Apocryphon's retelling of Genesis 12, Pharaoh commands Abraham's wife Sarah (20.8-9) and seeks to kill Abraham. Sarah, in accordance with their preconceived agreement (19.19-20), tells Pharaoh that Abraham is her brother in order to save Abraham's life (20.10). Interwoven between Pharaoh's theft, Sarah's equivocation and Abraham's deliverance is a short clause (כדי היות מתגר על דילהא) that seemingly communicates the purpose of Sarah's lie. The vast majority of editions and translations render it, as does Daniel Machiela, "so that I would benefit on account of her." (1) This interpretation

* I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Jan Joosten for his constructive comments on an earlier draft of this article. Cody Kingham also deserves recognition for helping to secure an important resource for the present research. I take sole responsibility for the content.

(1) Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13-17* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 75. Machiela's lack of note at this point suggests he is not aware of the syntactical difficulties his translation presents; cf. Klaus Beyer (*Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984], 175): "wodurch ich ja um ihretwillen (am ehesten) einen Vorteil hatte"; E. Y. Kutscher's initial linguistic study does not mention מתגר ("The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon: A Preliminary Study," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 4, edited by Cahim Rabin and Yigael Yadin [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958], 35); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*, 3rd ed. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 101, 200; Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 250; B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. Van Der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 95; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 40-41; Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr. and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*

goes back to Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, whose Hebrew translation is nearly identical to Genesis 12:13: למען ייטב לי (למען אהיה נשכר). בעבורה. (2) One notable exception to this reading is Takamitsu Muraoka who has twice, in this very journal, suggested this translation is incorrect. In the first instance, over forty years ago, Muraoka proposed the translation “while I was negotiating about what concerned her, i.e. about her release.” (3) Despite the publication of numerous popular translations and critical editions of the Genesis Apocryphon since Muraoka’s suggestion, no change has been made. More recently, he has stated things more forcefully: the consensus reading is “an impossibility.” (4) This paper follows Muraoka’s lead, yet adds much needed syntactical support to Muraoka’s observations, including a new analysis of the verb מתגר, the most important piece in the debate. Furthermore, this new translation “while I was disputing [with God] on her behalf” is placed in its proper literary context.

Syntax and Semantics

The Syntax of כדי

Although assumed in his translation of the phrase (“while I was negotiating about what concerned here”), Muraoka does not comment on the temporal adverb כדי. (5) Yet, כדי is perhaps the strongest indication that the current consensus is incorrect. A majority of translations of this clause render כדי as denoting purpose. (6) It is well known, however, that the overwhelming majority of the occurrences of כדי introduce temporal clauses. Indeed, the standard reference works on Qumran Aramaic do not even list purpose as a possible grammatical category for כדי. (7) Had author intended a purpose clause the

(London: Harper Collins, 1996), 80; Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 454.

(2) Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956), 36 [Heb.]. This initial translation has since become so ingrained it is now the default reading.

(3) Takamitsu Muraoka, “Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *RevQ* 8:29 (1972): 42.

(4) Takamitsu Muraoka, “A recent re-edition of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *RevQ* 25:98 (2011): 312.

(5) Muraoka, “Notes,” 42; “Genesis Apocryphon,” 312.

(6) Cook is an exception translating the conjunction temporally (*Dictionary*, 250).

(7) Ursula Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte*, I. Grammaire (Prahins: Éditions du Zèbre), 96; Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 262; Cook, *Dictionary*, 110; Beyer (*Aramäischen Texte*, 551) lists 1Q20 20.10 as an exception, though the overwhelming majority of other instances are temporal in nature.

use of די alone would have sufficed. די + *yqtl* to denote purpose is well attested. (8)

The Syntax of הוית מתגר

Closely related to the temporal adverb כדי is the verbal form הוית מתגר, a periphrastic construction. Current research on the Aramaic verb would suggest that a modal use of *qtl*/suffix conjugation הוה + participle is highly unlikely. (9) Often, הוה + participle in conjunction with temporal adverbs creates situations of imperfective aspect suited to a context such as 1Q20 20.10. Muraoka has further pointed out, “The form which suits the above interpretation would be [יתגר] or [יהוה מתגר].” (10) Confirming Muraoka’s observation, Li cites modal uses of הוה + participle only when הוה occurs in the *yqtl*/prefix conjugation. (11) The change in verbal form would shift the action of the verb from narration in past time to “event modality,” wherein the verb would refer an event that has not taken place. (12) As the verbal construction stands, the consensus translation is highly doubtful.

The Semantics of מתגר

Muraoka has argued that מתגר “is to be derived from [תגר], and not from [אגר]” (13) and glosses it as “negotiating.” (14) Several scholars have noted that the root is תגר, (15) but they have not followed Muraoka’s definition of תגר. (16) Cook’s recent *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, for instance, concurs with Muraoka regarding the term’s root,

(8) Cook, *Dictionary*, 49; Muraoka, *GQA*, 262; Schattner-Rieser, *Grammaire*, 96.

(9) Tarsee Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel: An Explanation in the Context of Grammaticalization*, Studies in Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 83; cf. Michael B. Shepherd, *The Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic: A Distributional Approach* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

(10) Muraoka, “Notes,” 42. However, as stated above, even if one of these forms were to occur, the temporal adverb כדי would still eliminate the possibility of a purpose clause.

(11) Li, *Verbal System*, 82-83.

(12) *Ibid.*, 168.

(13) See Muraoka’s more recent comments in “Genesis Apocryphon,” 312; and also *GQA*, 9.

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) H. Lignée classifies the root as אגר, but few do so today (“Concordance de ‘I Q Genesis Apocryphon,’” *RevQ* 1:2 [1958-1959]: 165); another possible is that the root is related to the Hebrew גר, as A. S. van der Woude suggests, but this proposal has not garnered a wide following (*Bijbelcommentaren en bijbelse verhalen: De handschriften van de Dode Zee in Nederlandse vertaling* [Amsterdam: Proost en Brandt, 1958], 99, as quoted in Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 200).

(16) Fitzmyer poses the question, “can מתגר bear such an active, intransitive meaning?” (*Ibid.*). But the tG stem can also be reflexive (Muraoka, *GQA*, 166).

but still glosses it as “to gain, profit.” (17) The term occurs nowhere else in the Aramaic literature from Qumran. Both תגר and אגר show up in later Aramaic texts. (18)

A closely related noun (תגר) occurs once in 4Q544 1.11 (19) and at least three times in other documents from the Dead Sea region in the texts from Naḥal Hever (XHev/Se 8 line 7, XHev/Se 9 line 9; XHev/Mur 26 line 20). (20) Sokoloff suggests the meaning, “strife, dispute” (21) and Abegg et al., “contest, debate.” (22) In the texts from Naḥal Hever it always occurs following the noun חרר “contestation” (23) in what appears to be a fixed pair (חרר ותגר) in deeds of sale, referring to any “contestation or dispute” that should arise after the sale of a plot of land. (24) Yet, the root of this word is not תגר, but גר. (25) J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff list the noun תגר as first occurring in Qumran Aramaic. They write, “This noun is based on the etpē‘el of the root גר, which is found frequently in Elephantine Aramaic.” (26) Additionally, from this root, they suggest “a secondary verb תגר “to quarrel” developed.” (27) This verb, then, is distinct from תגר “to trade”, which developed “from *taggār ‘merchant.” (28) Greenfield and Sokoloff’s analysis sheds new light on the meaning of the verb תגר

(17) Cook, *Dictionary*, 251.

(18) Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of Talmud Babli, Yerushalami, Midrashic Literature and Targumim*, 2 Vol (New York: Pardes, 1950), 14, 1646-7. Muraoka suggests Jastrow is where the misunderstanding regarding תגר began (“Genesis Apocryphon,” 312). As for Muraoka’s reading, he follows Jacob Levy’s “Handel treiben” (*Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Vierter Band [Leipzig Brockhaus, 1889], 627); and also Gustaf Dalman, G. H. Händler and J. Kahan, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Göttingen: Pfeiffer, 1938), 438.

(19) Martin G. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, vol. 1.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 940.

(20) Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Bar Ilan University Press: Ramat-Gan, 2003), 50, 86. Sokoloff questions whether the root is גר. See Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Hever and Other Sites*, DJD XXVII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 26-28, 38-42, 123-29.

(21) Ibid.

(22) Abegg et al, *Concordance*, 940.

(23) Sokoloff, *Judean Aramaic*, 50.

(24) DJD XXVII, 38-42, 50; cf. 26-28; 123-9. According to Yardeni, “it refers to opponents of the transaction” (Ibid., 50).

(25) Sokoloff, *Judean Aramaic*, 86; J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, “The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Aramaic Vocabulary,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, edited by Takamitsu Muraoka (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 92.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

in 1Q20 20.10. Thus, Muraoka's suggestion that מתגר is from the root תגר and means "negotiating" is not entirely accurate (though a major improvement on previous readings). What Muraoka and those he critiques have in common is that they (with some exceptions) understand the verb to depict that which a merchant does, whether profit or negotiate (trade). Instead, תגר, following Greenfield and Sokoloff, is a secondary verb derived from גר and describes the dispute or debate that takes place in a legal claim or quarrel. If this analysis is correct, these two verbs should be viewed as distinct with תגר (I) "to engage in business, profit, trade, barter, negotiate" and תגר (II) "to dispute, debate, quarrel." (29) Nevertheless, as it stands, the above syntactical analysis would suggest מתגר does not mean "profiting," since "while I was profiting by her/on her behalf" makes little sense in relation to the previous clause.

The Syntax of על דילהא

Machiela renders על דילהא causally ("on account of her"), denoting the cause/reason for Abraham's supposed benefits. (30) Muraoka, in contrast, translates the phrase "about what concerned her, i.e., about her release," (31) or perhaps better "on her behalf." Had a causal sense been intended, one only has to look to the following clause to see how it would have been expressed: בדילהא. There Abraham is spared and is not killed because Sarah lies to the king. Here, Abraham is disputing on her behalf.

Literary Function

The syntactical and lexical missteps documented above are driven by a faulty assumption of what כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא means based on yet another assumption that 1Q20 20.10 is merely a translation of Genesis 12:13. As a result, they have misread the meaning of the verb תגר. From there they have had to do serious violence to the syntax of כדי, the periphrastic construction, and the prepositional phrase על דילהא to make the interpretation work. They have further assumed that כדי הוית מתגר

(29) See note 33 for specific language from 20.11-16 that reinforces this interpretation.

(30) Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 75; also Labuschagne and Van Der Woude, *Aramaic Texts for Qumran*, 95, "because of her." The effect of this translation makes Sarah the means by which or the cause of Abraham's profiting. That Abraham is supposedly benefiting here is based on the assumption that this clause refers to Genesis 12:13 and also 1Q20 20.30-32.

(31) Muraoka, "Genesis Apocryphon," 312. Cf. Cook, *Dictionary*, 177-80.

ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא ולא קטילת על דילהא indicates the purpose/result of Sarah's lie, in part because of the immediately following clause

A better way to read this text is according to the meaning of its syntax as outlined above. The result is that the clause is a parenthetical statement: "And Sarah said to the King, 'He is my brother' (while I was disputing on her behalf) and I Abraham was spared and I was not killed because of her." But with whom is Abraham disputing? Muraoka suggests that the clause refers to Abraham "negotiating with the border police or the palace guard." (32) While this suggestion is possible, a better explanation is found by reading the clause in light of what follows (20.11-15). There Abraham disputes with God on Sarah's behalf. (33) Taken together, *כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא* from 20.10 and 20.11-15 describe Abraham's intercession to God for Sarah. This description is strongly reminiscent of Genesis 18 where Abraham negotiates with God on behalf of Lot.

Both the temporal parenthetical clause of 20.10 and the description of Abraham's prayer serve a nuanced literary purpose. By splicing the preceding and following clauses with *כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא*, the author connects Sarah's lie with Abraham's prayer and ultimately God's divine purpose that he is working in these events. Thus, Sarah's lie is due to God's providential intervention through Abraham's dream in 19.14-21. There the dream serves to vindicate Sarah's actions and inform the reader that Abraham's and Sarah's actions are due to God's will, not their own imprudence. When, after five years of living in hiding, the dream's fulfilment comes true, the reader is reminded that Sarah's actions are the result of God's providential intervention. At the same time, Abraham's intercession incites God to act on Sarah's behalf (20.16-21). Indeed, while Sarah lies so that Abraham (the cedar) is spared, Abraham intercedes for Sarah (the date palm) to save her honor. That God saves both Sarah and Abraham is due to Abraham's disputation with God and is part of his divine purposes for them and his people.

(32) Muraoka, "Genesis Apocryphon," 312.

(33) The language of Abraham's prayer reinforces the above suggestion that *מתגר* is to be classified as *תגר* (II) and depicts a legal dispute, not just a mere negotiation. 20.13 twice references God as ruler (*שליט*), denoting his legal authority over the kings of the earth and to execute judgement (*דין*) among them. In 20.14 Abraham specifically brings an accusation against Pharaoh to God. In the same verse Abraham implores God, "exact judgement for me from him!" (*עבד לי דין מנה*).

Conclusion

Ever since the discovery of the Genesis Apocryphon in 1947, the meaning of the clause **כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא** has evaded scholars. The consensus that has held sway from the earliest editions to the present is syntactically and lexically implausible and, therefore, no longer tenable. Those who would wish to perpetuate this reading must demonstrate: 1) instances of **כדי** that introduce purpose clauses; 2) modal examples of the periphrastic construction **הוה + participle**; 3) sound lexical arguments that **מתגר** from the root **תגר** means “to gain, profit” in this context; and 4) an account of why **על דילהא** and not **בדילהא** occurs in this clause. The proposal here accounts for all of the linguistic phenomena, suggesting the need to differentiate between the verbs **תגר** (I) and **תגר** (II), while providing an explanation of the meaning of the clause in its literary context. Syntactically, the clause **כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא** is a parenthetical statement. Furthermore, it is to be read as a description of Abraham’s intercessory disputation for Sarah, in the vein of Genesis 18, and in the context of 20.11-15. The placement of this parenthetical clause immediately following Sarah’s lie vindicates Sarah’s actions as does Abraham’s dream in 19.14-21. Abraham’s life is spared as a result of Sarah’s lie and Sarah’s honor is preserved when God thwarts the king’s intentions (20.16-21) as a result of Abraham’s intercession.

Andrew G. DANIEL
Oxford, UK

RECENSIONS

Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew Writings, Volume Three* (Jérusalem : Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2014), 21 × 27,5, XII + 284 p. relié. ISBN 978-965-217-377-5.

Après un premier volume paru en 2010 couvrant les grands rouleaux en hébreu, et un deuxième sur un ensemble de manuscrits hébreux fragmentaires paru en 2013, E. Qimron, toujours en particulier avec le précieux soutien de son collègue M. Kister (p. XII), publie un troisième volume portant sur quelque 170 manuscrits hébreux fragmentaires : 10 de la grotte 1, 5 de la grotte 2, 3 de la grotte 3, 136 de la grotte 4, 6 de la grotte 5, 6 de la grotte 6, 1 de la grotte 8, 2 de la grotte 11, 3 de Masada et 2 de xQ. Il suit l'ordre des éditions, mais il change parfois les titres proposés par les éditeurs.

Le manuscrit *IQ19* 1-3.8.13 est désigné comme la *Génération du Déluge*. Les frgs 1-2 recoupent *1 Hénoch* araméen, et le frg. 3 *1 Hén* 106,2. Au frg. 13 1, lire probablement *lhby kbwd w'k* [(*bet-yod* certains), non les propositions de l'a. *IQ25* est désigné comme *Prière* (?) avec quelques améliorations aux frgs 4 et 5. Aux frgs 13-17 de *IQ29a* que Tigchelaar a isolés pour en faire des restes d'un traité *Des deux esprits* recoupant *IQS* IV 7-17, l'a. a quelque peu complété des lectures qu'on peut poursuivre en 13 4 avec *wl[šwn gdwpy*m. L'a. fait des 6 frgs de *IQ11* et des 12 frgs de *IQ30* des restes d'un même manuscrit désigné comme *Cantiques*, en notant les hésitations de Barthélemy (mais édition faussement attribuée à M. Baillet, p. 6) et de Milik en *DJD I*. Toutefois la graphie ne va pas clairement dans ce sens et il est préférable d'en faire des restes de deux rouleaux. *IQ11* a conservé des restes des *Psaumes des Montées* (Pss 126-128) et probablement d'un autre auparavant en 2 i (col. non mentionnée). En *IQ30* 1 1, l'a. lit avec raison *b]rwh hqwdš* [comme je l'avais fait remarquer lors d'une exposition à la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, il y a quelques années. Cette lecture renvoie aux très nombreux *Psaumes de David* en *11QPs^a* XXII 2-11, mais les restaurations proposées ne vont pas sans difficulté. Au frg. 3 4 *pwšym* [est certain. Concernant les deux frgs de *IQ31*, lire *bmhny*m [avec Milik en 2 3, et *mlpn* [y en 2 4. De *IQ36* (*Prière*) avec ses 25 frgs, ne sont retenus que les mieux conservés : au frg 1 1, lire]'wwnw [et en 1 4]'yw [mais la restauration en 1 2 est impossible pour *he*. Le frg. 7 a conservé des restes d'une première ligne non signalée. Au frg. 15, lire]p[l]gth,

Le frg. 1 de 1Q38 semble porter des restes de deux colonnes, et en 1 ii 2, lire [wbʔ?] 'm lhspyq 't tw[b].

La restauration de 2Q21 1 6 d'après Dt 9,26 est difficile, les traces du *lamed* étant entre les jambages de *he* non du *tet*. En 2Q23 (*Composition polémique*) 1, des restaurations sont proposées. À propos de 2Q27, on proposerait en 1 1]lyhm m[', en 1 4 mw '[dym et en 1 5 'nhnw h[w]l[kym. Mais les lectures et restaurations en 2Q28 2 3]twl'ym tw[l'y]m 'l h[sont très douteuses, et serait plus vraisemblable d'après les traces une lecture l'] h[yy]ty l'[d]m tw['bh, sans aucun rapprochement avec 2Q28 3 à garder séparément.

Les restes de 3Q7 publiés par M. Baillet renvoyant aux *Testaments des 12 Patriarches*, spécialement à *Test. de Juda* 24-25, ont été relus par J. Milik, « Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân : d'Hénoch à Amram », (*Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, par M. Delcor, BETL XLVI, Leuven 1978, 91-106, p. 98-99), avec des restaurations bien supérieures à celles de Qimron : les traces de 5 2 ne permettent pas de lire h]ššy, mais h[hm]yšy avec Milik qui y a joint le frg. 3 (étude ignorée de l'auteur). Pour 3Q9 est seule possible en 2 1]nwš' et en 2 2]b'w[wm [.

4Q158 (*Pentateuque réécrit*) où sont présentes des leçons du Samaritain, est relu et complété en partie à la suite de plusieurs auteurs (voir 158 1-2). La restauration du frg. 5 montre de légères variantes d'Ex 19,17-23, celles des frgs 6, 7-9 et 10-12 suivent la leçon du Samaritain, voir aussi 4QPaléoEx^m, mais texte non identique à 4Q364. Au frg 14 sont pris en considération les frgs supplémentaires identifiés par J. Strugnell. 4Q159 (un *pésher* sur des passages de la *Loi*) recoupe 4Q513, déjà noté par Baillet. Qimron ne souligne pas les recoupements de 4Q513 17-18 2-5 avec 4Q159 1 ii+9 4-6. 4Q159 2 vient à la suite comme l'a proposé M. Bernstein. Au frg. 5 6, lire bšwqh wš[rh] (? , *šade* certain), avec Is 30,6, ce frg. interprète Ex 32,35 et 33,7. Les frgs 2-4+8 renvoient à Lv 25,47 et 34. 4Q160 (*Paroles de Samuel*) au frg 1 recoupe 1 S 3,14-18 avec un texte plus long, les frgs 2+6+8 recourent 4Q382 104 ii, et le frg 3 ii 3 partiellement 4Q302 3 ii 10 ; Kister a rapproché les frgs 4 i -5 au lieu des 3-4(+5) de l'édition (et de Strugnell). Après la remarque de Strugnell, est isolé le frg. 5 de 4Q173 pour en faire 4Q173a. Si on doit retenir la restauration lhr]bwt, ligne 2, avec Ez 20,21, on doit certainement lire ligne 1 : sg[w]l[comme je l'ai proposé, s[l]w[l]ym étant exclu pour waw, le *mem* n'a jamais tracé aussi haut sous la ligne d'écriture. Les frgs 19-21 de 4Q176 ont déjà été identifiés aux *Jubilés*, et parmi les 55 autres, l'a. propose de les répartir en deux copies différentes. En 4Q176 (*Consolations*) sont regroupés, à la suite de Strugnell, les frgs 1-10, 12-13+42 sur fond du Deutéro-Isaïe. En 4Q476b sont regroupés les frgs 16+18+22-23+33+51 à la suite de Strugnell à l'exception du frg. 17. En 4Q183 (*Pésher*) 1 ii 1-8 est signalée la restauration de Kister, mais non la proposition de Milik (*JJS* 23 [1072] 138s) d'un *pésher* du Ps 110 en 183 9-10, d'autant que dans ces lignes on devrait lire les versets 2b et 3aβ : 'w'šr 'mr rd[h bqr]b 'wybykh 'mkh ndbwt bywm hylkh] ¹⁰[b] hrr[y] q[wd]s[mrhm mšhr ; et à la l. 6, la lecture h'mt m[est certaine, (voir en particulier PAM 42.512), non y[. Tout ce fragment est de fait le reste d'un *pésher* du Ps 110,1-3a. 4Q186 (*Horoscope*) en cryptique est une copie de physiognomonie avec les signes astrologiques sans difficulté de lecture.

Sont données des lectures de 3 des 4 frgs de 4Q215a (*Temps*), mais on doute de bien des lectures proposées vu la photographie B-370851, même désignation donnée à 4Q228. Suivent des restes de deux manuscrits sur les *Deux esprits*, 4Q230 et 4Q238. Le frg. 4Q247 est ici désigné *Les temps*, alors que M. Broshi l'a appelé *Pesher sur l'apocalypse des semaines*. Quoi qu'il en soit, il est question d'une vision globale de l'histoire comparable à l'*Apocalypse des Semaines* de 1 Hen 93,9-10 et de Dn 9 ; mais on doit sûrement lire yml]wk ml[k] ktyym '[lyhm à la ligne 6 et, ligne 7, w] '[l hkw]hn y'[(yr?), ce qui est en rapport avec les débuts de la Communauté de Qumrân et le grand prêtre authentique après les égarements des fils de Lévi et du peuple, la domination des Kittîm et les guerres maccabéennes, d'où l'importance du passage pour une datation du mouvement au milieu du 2^e s. avant J-C. Publié comme *Texte Historique A*, 4Q248 1 est qualifié comme *Source de Daniel* mais la dépendance est difficile à établir, ce pourrait être l'inverse. Il reste une trace en 1 4 pour b'[yrw], et en 1 5 les traits pour le substitut 'dwny (non le tétragramme), et en 1 9, une partie de la base de kaf au-dessous de celle du nun ne peut être lue *lamed*, donc knpš, ce qui est une variante de Dn 12, par ailleurs trop court pour une restauration des ll. 8-9. 4Q249 (*Midrash du livre de Moïse*), en cryptique sur papyrus mais titre au verso en écriture araméenne, commente des passages du *Lévitique* 14, infractions connues de IQS IV. 4Q253a (*Pesher*) commente Mt 3,16-18 et Lv 17,3-4. 4Q262B (*Le Jardin d'Eden*) décrit en images le futur de la Communauté comme des passages de IQH^a. Les plus gros frgs de 4Q265 (*Loi et midrash*) recoupent des règlements de IQS, CD et *Jubilés*, des lectures et restaurations divergent de l'édition. L'a. isole avec raison le frg. 6 iv de 4Q266 (4QD^a) pour en faire la copie 4Q266a sur les fruits de la 4^e année, vu la main différente de ce texte. Les 3 frgs de 4Q275 (*Alliance*) sont en rapport avec une liturgie de la Communauté, du renouvellement de l'alliance, voir IQS II. 4Q276 (*La vache rousse^a*) peut être restauré en partie avec 4Q277 (*La vache rousse^b*), mais la restauration de la ligne 1 est trop longue pour une col. de 7,5 cm. Si des lectures ont été améliorées en 4Q277 1 i, des restaurations sont impossibles à la marge de droite à la distance connue, en particulier aux ll. 3 à 8 et 11, et en conséquence à la fin des lignes, et en 1 ii 10, lire wṭw[hr] ḥšrmh.

Des frgs de 4Q279 (*Lots*), le frg. 5 s'intéresse aux 4 lots : prêtres, lévites Israélites et autochtones. 4Q280 (*Melkîrésha*) traite des malédictions de l'opposant de Melkîsédeq. La lecture de 2 frgs de 4Q284a (*Cas d'impureté*) a été renouvelée. Des trois manuscrits 4Q291 (*Bénédictions*), on doute de la lecture de 4Q291 1 1 et en 1 5, la graphie yhw[h] a été corrigée par-dessus en 'dw[ny, peu clair et barré à son tour et repris au-dessus en 'dw[ny. En 4Q292 2 2, lire avec certitude wbyl'mh, 'aîn est exclu. L'a. isole avec raison le frg. 69 de 4Q299 à la graphie différente pour en faire des restes de 4Q299a (*Décret*). En 4Q302 (*Sagesse*), lire en 1 i 1]'lh[y]m whw', en 1 ii 5 wlttm[et 10 wl's[wt. Les manuscrits de *Sagesse* 4Q303 et 4Q305 se recoupent, lire en 4Q303 5]'wr et en 4Q304 1 w'[t. Des 3 frgs de 4Q306 (*Prospectives*), le frg. 1 est de lecture difficile, en 1 4 le bet de wbzrym est impossible, tout comme h[kwh] nym en 1 6, lire hm[z]bh̄m (B-284430), pour hzrym en 1 7, lire hḥ[šr], et pour wmtyrwš en 1 8, lire wpry ḥšdh. En 3 2, lire]d'w[t.

Des 77 frgs en cryptique de 4Q317 (*Phases de la lune*), sont transcrits 17 frgs parmi les mieux conservés. 4Q320 (*Mishmarôt A*) reprend l'édition *princeps* sans s'apercevoir que le frg. 9 a depuis été identifié à la copie de 4Q209 (*Hénoch astronomique*) 27 avec un *vacat* à la ligne 2. Suivent les colonnes restaurées de 4Q321 (*Mishmarôt B*) et le seul frg. 7 de 4Q321a (*Mishmarôt B*), mais C dans l'édition *princeps*. De 4Q322a n'est présenté que le frg. 2, mais on devrait lire en 2 1,]kbšw h'[rš, en 2 3,]h[.... ('')lyw wyhy[et au frg 1 (non pris en considération) 4]w [.]by[en 1 5]kwl 'nšy[en 1 6]w lngd 'r[stbwlws, qui en ferait un texte historique. Suivent des frgs de 4Q323, 4Q324, 4Q324a (*Mishmarôt B, C, D*), et 2 frgs en cryptique de 4Q324d (*Sabbats et fêtes*). Puis trois frgs de 4Q325 (*Sabbats et fêtes*), 4Q328 (*Mishmarôt F*) mais en 1 4, le mot effacé est { *ptyh* } fautif, et 4Q330 (*Mishmarôt I*). Trois compositions traitent de *Faits de souverains A, B et C*, 4Q331, 4Q332 et 4Q333. En 4Q331 1 i 6, on devrait pouvoir lire h]kwhn 'sr k'rl ['(w)]t. En 4Q332 2 1, la lecture b'rb[y'y]m est exclue, le *bet* n'a jamais ce ductus, lire b'rk[w]y(m), et b]yswd en 2 4 et]m hr[qnws en 3 1, et 4Q333 mentionne des massacres d'Æmilius. 4Q334 (*Cantiques et louanges*) est publié en *DJD XXI* (non XVI), l'a. suit la lecture et les restaurations de l'éditeur. Concernant la *Liste des Netînîm* 4Q340, lire, ligne 2, knnw bš[mw]tm (non kwnw).

Quatre manuscrits appartiennent à une composition désignée comme *Pentateuque réécrit*, 4Q364-365-366-367 avec des recoupements en particulier avec le *Rouleau du Temple*. En 4Q364 1 1, lire 'š[wr]h[avec l'édition (PAM 43.194). Le frg. 4a n'est pas pris en compte. L'a. donne parfois des restaurations différentes et plus amples, ou des mises en colonne divergentes. Au frg. 7 2, lire wy'w[mr (non h..), voir Gn 34,4 (?). Au frg. 9 5, *vac.* w[non lu. Au frg. 10 5, lire ky 'yk (B-481832) avec l'édition. Au frg. 24 13, la restauration est beaucoup trop longue compte tenu des correspondances avec la ligne 12. Aux frgs 25 8, 26 i 4, ii 2.5.17.18.24, 28 3.7, l'a. ne signale pas les : précédant le tétragramme, ni ne les restaure. Au frg. 26 i -ii 21 (de l'a.), il y a manifestement un reste de lettre en ii, waw/yod/reš/taw non pris en considération par l'a., mais lu *he* par l'édition, difficilement ; ce reste met en cause les lectures et restaurations de ces lignes. En 4Q365 2 3, dans l'interligne à droite de *kn* un mot a été effacé à lire hr]wmy, non wy'šw de l'édition, mais non lu par l'a. Au frg. 3 2, dans l'interligne pourrait-on lire wyh[yw mš]t]ym[? Au frg. 6 i 3, lire sans doute l[klw]t 'wlm, et en 6 i 10, lire sûrement]- [l]hgh. En 6 ii 3, 'wšy' est la seule lecture possible suivi de '[t, certain, et en 6 ii 5, š'nh est impossible, *taw* corrigé en *tet* au lieu de *alef*, pour š{t}<t>nh (B-366548). En 7 ii 1, lire sûrement '[l (axe du *alef*, voir ybw' ligne 4) avec l'édition non '[l du TM. En 12 iii 7 mwt corrigé en mwr recorrecté en mwšh, puis wy'šw 't hwsn corrigé en { 't <h>hwsn wy'šw } 't hšn. En 12 iii 11 tršyš{nn} (*nun* médian et *nun* final ont été effacés). En 17 2, lire '[l [avec Lv 11 42. En 23 6, lire [l]tt h'wlwt h[. En 26 2-3, lire (hdbrym/hhqwqm h'lh) [lšmw[r] k'sr š[wh yhwh 't mwšh 'l bny // ysr'l bhr syny] avec Lv 27,34, *yod* de l'a. est impossible. En 26 5,]'sr, avec métathèse a été effacé, et en 26 7, lire kn'[mr lk(m), *taw* est impossible. En 37 1 est possible pour l'espace la lecture 'd n[h]l 'rnw)n une fois remises les lignes en parallèle, en 37 4 lire bm[et 1 5]mšm. En 38 1, lire kdbrw[, *waw* non effacé malgré les parallèles,

et 38 2, ' <y>m (*mem* pour *nun*). Le manuscrit 4Q365a a été présenté avec le *Rouleau du temple* dans le volume I. En 4Q366 4 ii 9, lire [pq]hym wysl[p dbry šdyqym (Lv 19,15), et en 10, 'myt[k]ky h[mšpt l'lwym (Dt 1,17). En 4Q368 1 1, une lecture possible serait]' '[d]mtw, en 1 2, lire] mšw[w]h hdbrym, voir Dt 28,14, et en 1 6, lire]b '[yny]. En 2 17, lire vraisemblablement]tp 'rwt. En 3 5, lire h/y]rym (sans trace du pied de *taw*. En 4 3 (non 1), lire] '[d]qšh '[r]š 'dwm. En 5 2, lire]šry hšb[t w]kw[]š]ptyhm (espace insuffisant pour un pluriel). En 10 i 6, la lecture ynwmm est matériellement impossible, plutôt [z]hm. En 10 ii 4, lire apparemment]pšmw wblhrb[]lym[, et en 10 ii 5 yg' wl[h]ywt, mais wh[est exclu.

4Q370 (*Sagesse des exploits divins*) a des recoupements avec le manuscrit *Mas 1m*. En 4Q370 1 i 1, lire tnw[bh, en i 2, lire sûrement šm '[lyw]n, le tracé est celui d'un *nun* final (voir ll. 6-8) non de *yod* pour [qdš]y, puis *Mas 1m* 3a 1 lit y]hwh[parallèle à 4Q370 au lieu de lyhm, en i 4, *Mas 1m* 3a 3 lit au singulier avec l'adjectif mthwm r[bh, en 1 i 5, w'ybr[est exclu, lire ky'br [(base de *kaf* non de *bet* pour *bw*, en 1 i 7, lire sans doute bšr[th], en 1 ii 3 = *Mas 1m* 2a lire]b 'ynyhm[. En *Mas 1m* 1 i 4]tt est exclu. En 4Q374 (*Prière*) 2 ii 5, l[b]ny est trop long pour l'espace. En ii 7, lire [w]yrhm (trou du manuscrit). Au frg. 9 = 4Q374a 5, d[br est certainement exclu. En 4Q377 (*Moïse*) 2 i 9, lire hrwn '[pw. En 2 ii 4, la lecture lk[wl]'yš twšb est un peu courte et ne rend pas compte des traces après le dernier mot. En 2 ii 7, lire wmr[]h tp'rtw (kbwdw est totalement exclu). La lecture proposée en 2 ii 9 n'w[wh]tw ne rend pas compte des tracés des lettres ni des effacements. La restauration m[l'k hw'] en 2 ii 11 est trop longue. Des nombreux frgs de papyrus de 4Q382 (*Rois*) n'ont été retenus que les frgs dont on peut tirer des mots faisant sens. Le frg. 104 recoupe 4Q160 2+6+8 (Strugnell). Au frg. 111 5, lire tm' avec l'édition. Sont présentés les frgs lisibles de 4Q383 (*Paroles de Jérémie*). En 1 1, lire]bwš(?)]. Est changée l'appellation de 4Q384 (*Temps*) ; aux frgs 8+9 4, lire]lbryt, mais contrairement à ce qui est indiqué, il n'y a rien du frg. 10 joignant les deux précédents. Est présenté le frg. 9 de 4Q387a (*Providence*).

Les copies 4Q392 et 4Q393 (*Prière*) appartiennent à un même manuscrit mais écrits par deux mains différentes comme l'avait déjà suggéré J. Strugnell. En 4Q392 1 2, lire h'yd 'yš, et en 1 3 wbbrytw (alignement) puis [w]'wr (espace). Les frgs 6 à 9 ont été réunis pour un texte un peu plus complet. Le frg. 4Q392 12 (= 5) ii joint avec 4Q393 1 ii+2. Au frg. 4Q393 3 5, lire w'zr certain (voir PAM 43.507). Après 4Q409 (*Bénédiction*), est relu 4Q410 (*Sagesse*) avec de nouvelles propositions, toutefois en 1 1, lire]'h, en l 4, lkh et en l 9,]ryš (avec l'édition). Suit un frg. de 4Q412 (*Sagesse*), mais lšwnk[h au frg. 1 3 est impossible, ainsi que b[rzl, en l 5, suivre l'édition ; les restaurations des débuts des lignes 4 et 6 dépassent dans la marge ! Puis viennent 4Q413 (*Sagesse*) et 4Q419 (*Sagesse*) 1 auquel est joint aux lignes 7-9, à distance mais sans recoupement, 4Q185 4 i. Le frg. 9 de 4Q421 a été isolé et a reçu le numéro 4Q421b, mais ligne 2, lire sûrement lbb[]n'/g[, non lb n[d]k'. Plusieurs frgs de 4Q422 (*Exploits divins*) ont été relus, groupés en trois colonnes successives comme dans l'édition, col. II 2, lire yw]rydw '[l. De 4Q425 (*Sagesse*) ne sont retenus que les frgs 1 (sans le frg. 3) et 6, mais en 1 1, lire

sûrement *mb*[avec l'édition, non *bb*[. Six frgs de 4Q426 (*Sagesse*) ont été retenus, mais on peut discuter certaines lectures comme 'y]š en 4 5, šin est impossible,]d ? En 4Q433 (*Complainte*) toutes les propositions ne sont pas recevables, par exemple en 1 2, *km*[wny n]b[z]h est impossible, ainsi qu'en 1 3, w'[th, et l'alignement à droite. Concernant 4Q433a (*Cantique*) sur papyrus, ont été réunis les frgs 3 et 4 mais sans texte suivi en dehors de restaurations ; certaines propositions en 3+4 2.3.5 ne sont pas recevables vu les tracés des lettres. L'a. a isolé le frg. 9 de 4Q437 pour en faire 4Q437a sans appellation, mais la lecture b]ly'l, ligne 5, est impossible. Le frg. 3 i de 4Q440 (*Bénédictions*) a été en partie restauré ; en 3 i 15 on peut lire []m bkw[l. Suivent les frgs isolés de 4Q440a et 4Q440b, puis 4Q442 (*Joseph*) avec de légères restaurations. En 4Q443 (*Prière*) sont proposées quelques restaurations, mais en 1 13, lire]m avec l'édition. Les six frgs de 4Q444 (*Esprits mauvais*) sont rassemblés en une seule colonne avec un minimum de restauration mais certaines lectures sont douteuses. Trois frgs de 4Q445 ont été retenus, de même pour 4Q446 (*Prière*) avec quelques lectures et restaurations.

Le manuscrit 4Q448 (*Cantiques sur le roi Jonathan*) en fait commence par un extrait du *Psaume* 154 et est suivi du début d'un *Cantique sur le roi Jonathan*. À la suite des éditeurs, l'a. est convaincu qu'on a affaire à une prière en faveur de Jonathan = Alexandre Jannée, mais rien ne le prouve, loin de là comme plusieurs l'ont déjà fait remarquer, pas même la mention de « roi », et il serait très surprenant qu'une composition essénienne fasse l'éloge de ce personnage honni entre tous, Jonathan Maccabée, le stratège avant son grand pontificat, est bien plus vraisemblable. Plusieurs lectures de la col. III sont discutables. De 4Q449 (*Prière*) sont retenus deux frgs, un frg. de 4Q450 (*Lamentation*) et un de 4Q451 (*Prière*) pour lesquels sont proposées des restaurations. À signaler 4Q452 (*Prière*), et les maigres restes de 4Q453, de 4Q454 (*Prière*) avec des restaurations, et de 4Q455. 4Q457 (*Guerre*) est le texte (4Q457b) copié sur le palimpseste (4Q457a) pour lequel sont proposées quelques restaurations. Deux frgs de 4Q458 (*Guerres du Messie*) sont étudiés, avec peu de restaurations, mais davantage à propos du frg. 4Q459. Plus nombreux sont les frgs retenus de 4Q460 (*Paroles de Lévi*) avec des restaurations. Noter que le verso du frg. 9, = 4Q350, porte une liste de céréales en grec. Sont retenus deux frgs de 4Q461 (*Conversion*) avec quelques restaurations au frg. 1, et de même des deux frgs de 4Q463 (*Temps d'impiété*). 4Q464 (*Pésher*) est présenté avec le frg. 5 devenu 01 i-ii suivi des neuf autres frgs à l'exception du frg. 11, mais plusieurs lectures sont discutables. Suit le frg. 4Q464a. Le contenu de 4Q465 (*Lettre*) sur papyrus est à peu près perdu. Le frg. 4Q466 (*Pentateuque réécrit*) renvoie à Nb 16,22. En 4Q468a (*Sagesse*), la lecture]rwhh[semble possible. La compréhension du frg. 4Q468b (*Le grand prêtre*) a été améliorée, mais la lecture de 1 2 semble devoir être *kwl bh*[yry ('l), la trace n'est pas celle du *nun*. En 4Q468c 1 4, lire *wb'wnyh*[, et en 1 8 yš]. Le frg. 4Q468e est important pour la mention d'un personnage historique à la l. 3, lu *pwtl'ys*, mais qu'on peut tout aussi bien, sinon mieux, lire *pytlws*, *Peitholaos* avec J. Strugnell (non cité).

En 4Q468g 1 6, il semble possible de lire *wšw*[mrwn. Le frg. 4Q468i (*Prière*) a été bien restauré après quelques changements de lecture. En 4Q468dd

(*Temps*) 1 1, lire *hrš[w]n*]. Des 3 frgs de 4Q470 (*Sédécias*), l'a. met à part le frg. 2 (= 4Qx [voir p. 248]) et propose de placer le frg. 3 au passé avant le frg. 1 au futur au cas où les deux appartiendraient au même manuscrit. Au frg. 1, la marge proposée à droite n'est pas à retenir aux lignes 2 à 7. Deux des trois frgs qualifiés comme 4Q471 (*Guerre*) ont des recoupements avec 1QM. 4Q471a (*Texte polémique*) n'est conservé que par un seul frg. que Strugnell associait à 4Q471. Est présenté ensuite un des deux frgs de 4Q471c (*Prière*). Le contenu des deux frgs de 4Q472 est difficilement identifiable ; au frg. 2 4, lire au mieux *wdyn*], et en 2 9, le mot est à la marge droite non en retrait. Les deux frgs de 4Q473 (*Les deux voies*) rappellent Dt 28,45 et le frg. 2 est comparable à 4Q464 2. L'unique frg. 4Q474 est difficile à lire et la lecture présentée par l'a. diverge quelque peu de celle d'Elgvin. Toutefois, je proposerai de lire ainsi : 1 1 *wtld bh]qš[th]bn[wy]'qwb šm[h, 1 2 ky' šmh]h bbn 'hwb l[']b[yw]'l kw[l 'hyw, 1 3 wys]mh bbn ydy[d, 1 4 (l)h]šk[y]l 't yhw h ky' []d[, 1 5 b]'hb[t yh]wh m'wdh rḥš[t b]lbh[, 1 11 h[yt]h ḥ[. Le manuscrit ferait référence à la naissance de Benjamin non de Joseph dans l'édition. La lecture du frg. 4Q475 (*Fin de l'impiété*) du *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* est améliorée. Deux des 3 frgs de 4Q476 sont retenus avec quelques nouvelles lectures. Au sujet de 4Q477 (*Liste de blâmés*), l'a. fait quelques bonnes remarques, j'y ajouterai les lectures en 2 i 3, apparemment] *nš'nw hrby*m. En 2 ii 1 *hw*['h est possible, en 2 ii 3, lire sûrement *ywhnn bn mt[tyh*, et en 2 ii 5,]h *hw'h 'twm lšr*(?)[. Un des trois frgs de 4Q479 est retenu avec une courte restauration. Deux des trois frgs de 4Q481a (*Élisée*) à rapprocher de 2 R 2 (12 ?)-14-16, mais en 3 1,]p (*qof* est exclu par le ductus). Le frg. 4Q481b par ses renvois est rattaché à *Jérémie*. En 4Q481c (*Prière*) les quelques corrections de lecture et restaurations sont les bienvenues. La relecture du plus grand frg. de papyrus de 4Q485 (*Repentance*) a permis de restaurer quelques lignes citant des passages abrégés de l'Écriture, à comparer à 4QMMT. De la cinquantaine de frgs de papyrus de 4Q487 (*Sagesse*), huit ont été retenus. En 1 ii 2, la proposition *bwhw* est loin de s'imposer contre *brhw* de Baillet, en 1 ii 3 lire *wtr<'>* avec la correction supralinéaire après un essai dans l'espace à gauche du *reš*, et en 1 ii 5, lire sûrement *wšr*], et des restes en 1 ii 7 l[]. En 2 1, lire]*qwdš* [, en 2 3,]*lḥmw dgly/w*(?) *bdg*[l, en 6 1, la lecture *mdr*[k est plus que douteuse, et en 6 5, le scribe a écrit *mmḥ*]. En 15 2, lire sûrement]r 'š m'syw [, et en 24 3, la lecture]*nwt* est loin d'être assurée. En 4Q500 (*Bénédiction*) 1 1 (restes avant la ligne 1 de l'a.), une lecture *wnšy 'ḥ* semble s'imposer. Concernant 4Q501 (*Prière pour une vengeance*), on doit suivre l'éditeur pour la correction du suffixe long en suffixe court en 1 6 : *gdwpyhmh > gdwpyhm* (correction du *mem* médial en *mem* final et *he* barré verticalement. À la ligne 1, une addition supralinéaire a été en partie surlignée et pointée :]'(?) *hlz*. Les frgs d'appartenance douteuse signalés par l'éditeur, sont groupés sous 4Q508a (*Prière*) par l'a. qui en a retenu trois, mais au frg. 41 1, l'a. a confondu une échancrure du manuscrit avec un reste de lettre, il n'y a rien avant] *ngd*. De 4Q514 (*Mise à l'écart des impurs*), la première colonne est relue et en grande partie restaurée, toutefois en 1 i 7, il semble bien que le scribe a ajouté 'm après *hryšnh*, et qu'il ait exponctué 'w en *wz'wd* auparavant (le simple ajout de *waw* n'explique pas ce qui est écrit).*

Au sujet de l'important manuscrit 4Q521 (*Apocalypse messianique*), l'a. propose quelques corrections qu'appuient les photographies digitalisées. En 1 ii 4, il retient ma deuxième suggestion *wmh* et corrige ii 6 *šryh[m]*, En 2 ii 9 la lecture *'rkh[y 'lh wy]hlym* est impossible et beaucoup trop longue, de même en ii 10 *wp[w 'l (reš de wpr[y paraît certain)*, et les propositions en ii 13 ne sont pas à retenir, en 2 iii 6 *šmk* est exclu tout comme *lh]'zyn* en 5 i+6 7, *lmzwn* est certain. En 5 ii+7 13 *'dyr[ym* et 14 *wqrmw* ne sont pas à retenir. Quant aux restaurations de cette colonne, on peut ne pas les accepter. Je m'expliquerai ailleurs sur ces lectures. Sont retenus les frgs de 4Q526, de 4Q527, (en 1 1, lire sans doute *lhg 'š[)*, 4Q528, et deux frgs de 4Q577 (*Déluge*).

Suite aux premiers travaux de Milik et de Kister, plusieurs frgs de 5Q13 (*Alliance*) ont été relus et restaurés dans deux colonnes : d'abord 1+2+3+7, et ensuite 4+12+14, faisant avancer la compréhension de cet écrit, même si des points restent difficiles. Le frg. de 5Q14 (*Malédiction*) est quelque peu restauré.

Des nombreux petits frgs de papyrus de 6Q9 (*Samuel*), neuf ont été retenus : toutefois 30+31 ont conservé des restes de 3 lignes et en 33 4, lire au mieux *ywš[b]*. Sont présentés le frg. 6Q11 et celui de 6Q12 (*Temps*), mais en 6Q12 1, lire en toute certitude *yšr'l nkbd[* (voir photographie B-482246). En 6Q13 (*Yosédeq*) 1 7, la lecture *[mt]ndbym* est certainement à exclure. En 6Q16 (*Récompense et châtement*), quelques courtes restaurations sont offertes aux frgs 1 et 2. Au frg. 1 1 de 6Q18 (*Guerre*), lire sans doute *nl[hm(ym)* bien attesté dans les rouleaux de la *Guerre* plutôt que *m[* sans trace de trait à gauche. Si la mise en place du frg. 3 à quelques millimètres à gauche du frg. 2 5-7 est acceptable, sauf la lecture *l[* à la ligne 5, en revanche le placement du frg. 9 sans joint à droite de 2 3-4 est plus que douteux, supposant un *vacat* à la l. 3, alors que Baillet y a signalé un petit frg. non reproduit. En 5 4, lire soit *tšl[w]*, ou mieux *tš<y>[lw]*, et en 20 3, lire sûrement *]ym[w'] yn l[.* En 8Q5 (*Exorcisme*) 1 3, la lecture semble devoir être *lh[š]pyl[* pour rendre compte des traces d'encre. En 2 1, lire plus vraisemblablement *]q[*, en 2 2 *] 'wr wtšby[tw]*, en 2 3 *m]nt yhw[*, et en 2 5 *]hmr dpwt.*

En 11Q15 (*Prière*) 1 3, lire *mqm[*, non *mn*, tête de *qof* certaine, et le retour en partie fondu sur l'oblique du *mem*, puis *mem* final (sans trace de *waw*). En 11Q16 (*Prière*), l'a. n'a pas tenu compte des deux esquilles jointes au frg. principal après la reproduction mais signalées par les éditeurs qui sont maintenant visibles sur B-365284, lire en 1 1 *]k[y]'*, en 1 2 *wtd']kw[m'šyw b[rm b[r'tw]*, en 1 3 *kly l[d't* et en 1 4 *'h]ryrw b[rm 'šytw*. L'authenticité du frg. XQAqéda me paraît douteuse.

Aux p. 249-284, un index donne la liste des manuscrits ou frgs de manuscrits réétudiés dans les trois volumes de l'auteur, indiquant les pages ainsi que les volumes des éditions officielles, pages et planches (je note quelques erreurs, par ex. p. 280, 4Q521 frgs 1 à 2 à corriger pl. II, et frgs 5 à 7, pl. III).

Comme dans les volumes précédents, pour chaque composition, sont donnés d'abord le titre, le nombre de copies, leur datation paléographique, les recoupements s'il y a lieu, et très succinctement les principales indications du contenu et certaines discussions ou points de vues différents depuis l'*editio princeps* des manuscrits. On relève que les rares indications bibliographiques qui suivent à la fin de la présentation de chaque composition, en plus des

publications originales notées, sont souvent limitées et elles privilégient essentiellement les études en 'ivrît des chercheurs israéliens. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'utilisateur de ce troisième volume y trouvera réunis un bon nombre de documents hébreux, même si tous les fragments des divers manuscrits n'ont pas été repris, et il pourra tirer profit d'un travail sérieux de la part de l'a., quelques nouvelles lectures et/ou des restaurations souvent à partir des commentaires des éditions. On ne pourra pas ne pas le consulter dans la recherche toujours à poursuivre dans l'étude de ces nouveaux documents, comme ont tenté de le montrer les quelques notes relevées en cours de lecture pour ce compte rendu.

Emile PUECH

Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All. Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381* (Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013). Pp. 420. 70,00 €. ISBN 978-3-525-55060-1.

The work is a revised version of Pajunen's dissertation under the direction of Raija Sollamo at the University of Helsinki. Chapter 1 begins with problematizing the use of the terms "apocryphal" and "non-canonical" psalms in light of the Qumran evidence (especially with regard to 11QPs^a). Pajunen points out, though, that there are psalm collections that do not contain any MT psalms and thus there are likely principles of compilation at work in these collections that require uncovering. It is with this notion of compilation in mind that Pajunen's study centers on 4Q381 as a unique collection of non-canonical psalms.

The final part of this introductory chapter places 4Q381 alongside other psalm collections from the Second Temple period in order to compare their respective principles of compilation. The placement of this section in the introductory chapter of the book, where there has not yet been any discussion of 4Q381 itself (despite an overview at 23-27), is problematic. The reader is led through an analysis of different psalm collections as they compare to one another and to 4Q381 in particular, but is not previously given much information on the latter text. Moreover, this subchapter, comprising 36 pages, deals in depth with collections other than 4Q381. The section is informative, but it leads the reader to question the central focus of the book (psalm collections in general or 4Q381 in particular?).

Chapter 2 presents a material reconstruction of 4Q381 and it is one of the major contributions of the book. Previous studies of 4Q381 were either unsuccessful in their attempts at reconstruction or avoided the matter entirely. Pajunen offers a meticulous analysis of these fragments that results in a solid foundation for studying the content of the manuscript. His reconstruction follows the method of Hartmut Stegemann, which relies upon the consistency of damage patterns in successive scroll revolutions and gives precedence to the material features of the manuscript.

Pajunen's discussion of fragments 44-53 is a good example of the payoff that comes from the reconstructive work done in this chapter (101-104). He

notes that these fragments were originally grouped together on the basis of coloration, but that this coloration is due to sun damage and is thus not a fool-proof criterion for determining whether these fragments were originally part of the same sheet (101). Instead, both thickness of leather and coarseness of skin (hair follicle density) must be taken into account when deciding upon the placement of these fragments. After examining all three material characteristics (color, thickness, coarseness), Pajunen concludes that “the fragments in this cluster need to be redistributed in accordance with these features not their damaged appearance” (104). This detailed analysis allows the author to approximate the original order of the fragments in a convincing manner, and his study yields a manuscript containing nine columns spread over three sheets.

The third chapter builds off of this reconstruction and offers an analysis of each of the individual psalms in the collection. Each analysis in this chapter follows the same outline, including an overview of the psalm’s fragments; transcription, notes, and translation; an outline of the content; comments; links with other texts; a discussion of the psalm as a whole. Additionally, the royal psalms with unidentified speakers (pss 5, 7, and 8) include a section on the identity of the pseudepigraphic figure in each.

The readings are clear and the notes are thorough, with constant recourse made to the editions and translations of others (mostly Eileen Schuller). The reader is given a precise picture of the contributions that Pajunen is making to the study of the text. There are, however, a few interpretive decisions that require explanation. One illustrative example is the explanation of the word כפיתה in the Penitential Prayer of Jehoiachin. Pajunen translates ע[ינ]ך כפיתה as “your eyes have overturned (them)” (260) and notes two possibilities for the interpretation of the verb. He states that it is a 3fp perfect verb from either כפה in the qal or כפף in the (otherwise unattested) piel. There are two problems here. First is the fact that the 3fp *-tā* ending does not occur in Hebrew. Second, the piel of כפף would be written with both the second and third consonants present. This form is probably best understood as a qal perfect 2ms from כפה, taking עיניך as its object and may be translated in a way similar to the lone appearance of the root in the MT, “you have averted” (Prov. 21:14).

Chapters 4 and 5 offer an analysis of the psalm collection as a whole and an exploration of its context and settings, respectively. These two chapters attempt to understand the composition in its entirety, something that was hardly possible before the publication of Pajunen’s reconstruction in chapter 2. Pajunen examines the style and language of the psalms and their use of earlier compositions and concludes that the collection was likely composed as a unified composition. Pajunen suggests that “the whole psalm collection in 4Q381 functions together as a comprehensive lesson on the justice of God toward his elect” (308). Then, attention is given to the literary (4Q381 among psalms and wisdom literature) and historical (4Q381 in its original setting and at Qumran) contexts in which the collection is best understood.

Pajunen’s elucidation of the nature of the collection is convincing and well-supported by arguments involving both language and content. His focus on the themes of election and justice as well as wisdom terminology appearing throughout the collection offers satisfactory proof for the composition’s unity.

His analyses of the function and setting of the collection, though, suffer from a set of claims that appear facile. For instance, he writes that “the function of the whole psalm collection in 4Q381 has been to teach the intended audience something” (297). While he is focusing on the didactic nature of the work in light of its use of wisdom terminology, such a statement may be applied to literature across a vast number of genres/periods and it adds little to the discussion.

Pajunen’s book “is not meant to offer the final statement on 4Q381, but rather to serve as an opening for future scholarly discussion on the matters presented” (373) and it has certainly accomplished this goal. In offering the most thorough and plausible reconstruction to date, the book will be a helpful resource for those who work on this manuscript for years to come.

James NATI

Ari Mermelstein, *Creation, Covenant, and the Beginnings of Judaism: Reconceiving Historical Time in the Second Temple Period* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 168; Leiden: Brill, 2014). Pp. xii + 216. € 99.00 / US \$ 128.00. ISBN 978-90-04-28105-9.

In this revised version of his dissertation, Ari Mermelstein sets out to “reveal that consciousness of a rupture in time among Second Temple writers was widespread and [to] document some of the strategies that these authors used for re-establishing the connection between the covenantal past and the Second Temple present” (1). To this end, Mermelstein focuses on four texts (Wisdom of Ben Sira, *Jubilees*, the *Animal Apocalypse*, and *4 Ezra*) and the conceptions of time found in their accounts of Israel’s history. Despite the particularities of each work, they all attach Israel’s unique bond with God to creation and portray Israel’s history as “timeless,” proceeding cyclically rather than linearly. These moves are intended to blunt the force of potential discontinuities in Israel’s history, especially the Babylonian Exile, that would negatively influence the authors’ perception of the present as somehow disconnected from God and the past.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the Wisdom of Ben Sira, with special attention to conceptions of time and history in chapters 1, 17, and 24, and the Praise of the Fathers (44-50). According to Mermelstein, Ben Sira coordinates Israel’s covenantal history with Wisdom’s travels, which begin at creation and do not conclude until Wisdom settles permanently with Simon and his descendants. Ben Sira’s presentation of Israel’s story in this way aims “to respond to critics of the temple-state and argue that Simon is the inevitable recipient of the covenants of the past” (86). In chapter 4, Mermelstein considers how the author of *Jubilees* narrates Israel’s past in order to avoid representing the exile as a defining disruption in their story and an indication that God had abandoned the people. To this end, *Jubilees* places Israel’s election at creation, while downplaying the uniqueness of Sinai, and highlights God’s regular deliverance

of Israel from demonic forces (e.g. the flood, the Aqedah, and the exodus), a precedent which foreshadows God's final redemption of Israel and fulfilment of the promises made to them at creation. In chapter 5, Mermelstein suggests that the *Animal Apocalypse* (AA) rewrote Israel's history by both tracing their election to creation and emphasizing recurring paradigms of violence and salvation in Israel's past. Such patterns could serve to lessen disappointment in the present and establish a trend that would support the AA's hope for a return to creation in the future. Chapter 6 treats *4 Ezra*. According to Mermelstein, Ezra's conception of time evolves over the course of the work. At first, Ezra locates Israel's election at Sinai, which causes him to see the exile – and by extension the destruction of the Second Temple – as a rupture in Israel's history. However, he eventually realizes that God's relationship with Israel can be traced back to creation and forward into the future, thus emphasizing the timelessness of covenantal history and its continuity from creation to the author's present. Finally, a comparison of these texts is relegated to the conclusion.

Overall, Mermelstein's argument is very thorough and methodical. He combines close reading of these texts with regular summaries of his argument that enable the reader to follow along easily. His coordination of the author's social location and presentation of time often is illuminating. The opening claim that "consciousness of a rupture in time among Second Temple writers was widespread," and thus needed to be dealt with, finds support in the four texts that Mermelstein discusses. As a result, this study invites further investigation of potential discontinuities in Israel's history in other Second Temple texts with special attention to strategies employed to connect the past and present.

Jonathan R. TROTTER

Janusz Kucicki, *Eschatology of the Thessalonian Correspondence: A Comparative Study of 1 Thess. 4:13-5:11 and 2 Thess. 2:1-12 to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Das Alte Testament Im Dialog 7, ed. Michael Fieger and Sigrid Hodel-Hoenes. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2014). Pp. 401. \$111.95. ISBN 978-3-0343-1474-9.

Having examined all the pertinent research on the topic of eschatology in the Thessalonian Correspondence, Janusz Kucicki came to the conclusion that it was time for a detailed and "coherent account of the eschatological teaching in the Thessalonian Correspondence" (9). Kucicki proposes that the best place to start this venture is with an examination of all the relevant data found in the intertestamental literature, more specifically the Dead Sea scrolls and the Second Temple literature. The author noticed a void in Polish scholarship: "there are no studies, which examine the passages [of] 1 Thess. 4:13-5:11 and 2 Thess. 2:1-12 in order to present how Paul created a compact and comprehensive Christian eschatology" (20). Kucicki has filled this void with yeoman's work and painstaking detail into every corner of the themes, imagery, and

context of these passages leaving no stone unturned. More specifically, the author focuses on the similarities and differences of several motifs found between the Thessalonian correspondence texts and the “intertestamental” texts.

Kucicki separates these motifs into “eschatological” and “apocalyptic.” The monograph, based on his dissertation, has two aims and one purpose. First, Kucicki determines the significance of “eschatological and apocalyptic themes” (29) via an exegetical study. And second he compares these themes between two sets of texts: The relevant texts in the Thessalonian Correspondence, on the one hand, and a careful selection of Second Temple (e.g., 1 Enoch, Testament of Job, Jubilees, Apocalypse of Zephaniah) and Dead Sea scroll (e.g., CD, 1QS, 1QM, 1QH) texts, on the other. The purpose is to “indicate how Paul used existing eschatological and apocalyptic motifs himself” which may reveal how the early church developed these motifs in “the earliest states of Christian eschatological thought” (29).

In order to accomplish this task, Kucicki analyzes these motifs dividing them into two groups “*prodroms*” and “events in the parousia” following the “historical-critical method,” “semantic analysis,” and “history of tradition” (29). Through “comparative analysis” he investigates the similarities and differences between the “intertestamental” texts and the ones at Qumran. The relationship between all three should, argues Kucicki, “reveal the degree of development and originality of the eschatology created by Paul” (30).

Kucicki lays out his thesis in four parts. First, in chapter one, he surveys the landscape of the introductory matters to “the problems of eschatology” in 1 and 2 Thessalonians “with particular attention to the problem of the use of eschatological motifs as arguments in proving or denying the authenticity of both letters” (30). More specifically, Kucicki covers the topic of the authority of 2 Thessalonians. He lays out the arguments of all sides of the issue with great detail from F. C. Baur to Colin Nicholl. Kucicki ultimately concludes that “the jury’s still out” on this.

In the much longer next chapter, the longest of the book, Kucicki analyzes the eschatological and apocalyptic motifs found in 1-2 Thessalonians compared to those in the Second Temple literature, which highlight the *prodroms*, those that proceed the parousia of the Lord. More broadly, Kucicki examines the motifs of vigilance and deception in how they both relate to the larger motif of “waiting” and how they are applied to both Christian and non-Christian contexts. The author views 1 Thess. 5:1-4 (and following) as the primary text of the Thessalonian Correspondence which highlights the “motif of vigilance.”

In his discussion of the “motif of deception” Kucicki uses 2 Thess. 2:1-12 as his main text in the Thessalonian Correspondence which illustrates this theme and its theological, and more specifically, the eschatological ramifications of “those who are deceived” (98) for both believers and non-believers. Kucicki shows that there is a parallel between the perishing of the unfaithful, and those “who have abandoned the path of the law” in the Dead Sea scrolls and those who are called “the wicked” in the Pseudepigrapha.

The second chapter ends with a detailed survey surrounding the identity of the “man of lawlessness” and “the restrainer.” Showing that the author of

2 Thess. 2:4 “used [an] apocalyptic framework of Judaic literature” creating “an early Christian apocalyptic Antichrist, a man of sin and injustice” (120), Kucicki argues that this “man” is indeed at least a human figure endowed with certain powers. After an in depth discussion, showing the arguments of many in the field, Kucicki concludes that the restrainer referred to in 2 Thess. 2:6-7 is none other than God.

The third chapter investigates the apocalyptic and eschatological motifs that are related to “the period of the parousia.” As in chapter two, Kucicki compares these motifs in 1-2 Thessalonians against those in the Qumran and “Pseudepigrapha” literature. The second part, “Description of Events Associated to the Coming of the Lord,” is his longest and most detailed section of the chapter. Kucicki analyzes seven phrases found in Paul’s articulation of the parousia of the Lord in 1 Thess. 4:16-17. They are as follows: “an order,” “the voice of an archangel,” “the sound of the trumpet of God,” “descent from heaven,” “rising from the dead,” “be taken up in the clouds,” and “to meet the Lord in the air.” Kucicki’s aim is not just to locate them in the text itself showing the parallels to similar motifs in the Qumran and Pseudepigrapha literature, but more importantly, to locate the function of the motifs in the text.

The final chapter before concluding is where Kucicki puts it all together. Having analyzed the eschatological motifs in 1 Thess. 4:13-5:11 and 2 Thess. 2:1-12, he investigates how these eschatological and apocalyptic motifs relate to each other and how they are similar to the motifs in the Second Temple and Qumran literature. Kucicki attempts to do two things: 1. Illustrate the extent to which Paul uses these motifs and how they “contribute” to the overall “development of Christian eschatology.” 2. Establish that once it becomes known how Paul used these motifs one can conclude that 2 Thessalonians “does not contain a compact and comprehensive eschatology” (271).

Kucicki’s painstaking exegetical analysis and breadth of the work is most impressive. But his quest to leave no stone unturned may have created a study that at times leaves the reader puzzled on how point A leads to point B. There were several sections of his work that could have been shortened or not addressed at all, not least of which is his analysis of authorship issues. Why should there be a detailed survey to conclude that the “jury is still out on that one”?

However, the main criticism of Kucicki’s important monograph is that his terminology at times is quite confusing and insufficiently defined. The primary confusion lies in his articulation, defining, and use of the terms “apocalyptic” and “eschatological.” First of all, Kucicki grounds his definition of “eschatology” in the halls of systematic theology, thus, “the material found in 1-2 Thessalonians can be [only] considered as eschatology if it contains a systematic teaching concerning the end of the times” (273). But how does one determine what makes an “eschatological motif” systematic? Would the authors of the Qumran and Second Temple literature, or Paul, for that matter, use these parameters? Kucicki names several motifs he proposes are eschatological: “resurrection,” “dualism,” “the Day of the Lord,” “the parousia,” “salvation,” “judgment,” and “times and seasons.” Are all “dualisms” (sociological,

cosmological, ethical, etc.) eschatological? (It may have been better to call it “eschatological dualism” (old age/new age) but that may fit better under the apocalyptic motif section anyway?) Is “salvation” *always* eschatological? Does not Paul talk of salvation in realized terms, too? (à la Rom. 1:16).

Furthermore, Kucicki attempts to argue that “apocalyptic” motifs are used by Paul to describe the larger eschatological motifs just listed. In fact, the author defines “apocalyptic” in purely eschatological terms, which of course plays into his eschatological motifs categorization. But not all “apocalyptic” motifs are eschatological. What makes the motifs of “command,” “trumpet,” “cloud,” “destruction,” “apostasy,” and others “apocalyptic”? Do they need to be found in texts that describe eschatological phenomenon? Kucicki fails to mention that in much apocalyptic literature and in the Pauline literature, not least, “revelation” (apocalypse) can occur in non-eschatological contexts (e.g., Rom. 16:25; 2 Cor. 12:1, 7; Gal. 1:12, 16; 2:2; 3:23; cf. Eph. 3:3). As Leander Keck famously said, “‘apocalyptic’ is an adjective which characterizes a type of theology, not merely a type of eschatology.” (1) The same can be said for defining “apocalyptic” motifs into purely eschatological terms or under the larger rubric of eschatology. Thus, Kucicki may be basing a large part of his thesis on an unnecessary and avoidable ambiguity.

Nevertheless, Kucicki has filled a void in biblical studies with an overall well-written and much needed monograph. For anyone looking to understand the imagery, themes, and motifs in 1 Thess. 4:13-5:11 and 2 Thess. 2:1-12 and how they compare to those in the Qumran and Second Temple literature, Kucicki’s work is a good place to start.

Michael E. PEACH

Alex P. Jassen, *Scripture and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Pp. xxii, 298. £ 64.99 / US \$ 99.99. ISBN 978-0-521-19604-8.

In *Scripture and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Alex P. Jassen situates legal traditions found in the Dead Sea Scrolls pertaining to the Sabbath within the legal landscape of ancient Judaism. Jassen’s work is part of the legal turn in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship that began in the late 1970s with Yigael Yadin’s publication of the Temple Scroll and has continued apace since the publication of 4QMMT in 1994. Jassen’s work represents a distinct contribution to the field by incorporating analyses of the more recently published Cave 4 legal texts along with long-known but understudied sectarian works (8). In this volume, he integrates the discussion of legal contexts of these texts with their scriptural hermeneutics by analyzing the specific ways in which Second Temple legal texts interpret, rewrite, expand, and transform legal traditions found in earlier authoritative works.

(1) “Paul and Apocalyptic Theology,” *Interpretation* 38.3 (1984): 229-241, 233.

In the first three chapters, Jassen introduces the major questions that he addresses in the volume. He first situates the volume within the history of Dead Sea Scrolls research and ancient Jewish law with particular focus on legal exegesis of non-Pentateuchal scriptural passages. In chapter 2, he contextualizes the volume in the history of Jewish law in antiquity and the development of legal exegesis in ancient Jewish writings. Specifically, he traces the development of legal exegesis from inner biblical interpretation through the commonly termed “rewritten scripture” and finally to the fully lemmatized mode of interpretation found in rabbinic literature. Jassen endeavors, in this chapter and throughout the volume, to correct the continued “imbalance in attention between legal and nonlegal texts” in scholarly discussions of “the transition from the purely rewritten form of interpretation to a more explicit commentary genre” (35).

In chapter 3, Jassen examines the role that Jewish legal exegesis can play in advancing scholarly understanding of the origins and development of the canon of the Hebrew Bible. This discussion is important to his overall argument because, as he contends, any “full and accurate portrait” of legal interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism must attend to and integrate three discreet fields of inquiry: scriptural hermeneutics, the history of Jewish law, and canon formation (66). Jassen highlights the relevance of legal interpretation for discussions of canon formation in the concluding chapter of the volume. There he discusses how the legal material in the Dead Sea Scrolls evinces the relative authority of Pentateuchal and non-Pentateuchal scriptural texts. Whereas earlier scholarship focused on the limits and contributions of various supposed references to bi-partite and tri-partite divisions in the canon in this period (e.g., the epilogue to 4QMMT), this volume helps shift the conversation to analyzing the diverse ways in which texts were interpreted and the import of this analysis for our understanding of their relative authority.

The next seven chapters of this volume are organized around a series of case studies of ancient Jewish legal exegesis of Isa 58:13 and Jer 17:21–22 in support of prohibitions on speech, thoughts of labor, and carrying on the Sabbath.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the exegetical reformulation of Isa 58:13 in the Damascus Document (CD 10:17–19) and 4QHalakha B (4Q264a I i. 5–8) in order to articulate Sabbath restrictions concerning speech. Chapter 4 consists of a close reading of CD 10:17–19 and shows the ways in which this passage rewrites and interprets Isa 58:13. He extends his discussion of the scriptural hermeneutics of the Damascus Document in chapter 5 by examining how 4QHalakha B “updated” the content of CD through its own “reframing” of the meaning of Isa 58:13 (103). In chapter 6, Jassen contextualizes the interpretations discussed in the preceding two chapters in the landscape of ancient Jewish interpretations of Isa 58:13 in Jubilees and classical rabbinic literature. This comparative perspective helpfully demonstrates a substantial degree of continuity between Second Temple and later rabbinic restrictions against business-related speech on the Sabbath (127). This multi-faceted mode of comparison highlights the need to situate the Dead Sea Scrolls material in this broader landscape rather than treating it as a discrete exemplar of sectarian traditions.

In chapter 7–10, Jassen continues the pattern that he established in chapters 4–6 by meticulously analyzing legal interpretations of one Sabbath restriction in the Dead Sea Scrolls and then situating them comparatively in the context of other ancient Jewish interpretations of the same restriction. In chapter 7, he examines interpretations of Isa 58:13 in the Damascus Document (CD 10:20–21) and in 4QHalakha B that place constraints on thoughts of labor on the Sabbath. In chapter 8, he analyzes relevant comparative ancient Jewish texts dealing with the same restrictions in rabbinic literature and in the writings of Philo. In chapters 9 and 10, Jassen shifts his focus to examine the prohibition against carrying on the Sabbath, which is based on Jer 17:21–22. In chapter 9, he shows how scriptural exegesis in the Damascus Document, 4QHalakha A (4Q251), and 4QMiscellaneous Rules (4Q265) employ these verses in order to transform Exod 16:29 from a prohibition against leaving one's place of residence into a restriction on carrying items from their homes on the Sabbath (see particularly 186–88). In chapter 10, Jassen surveys the use of Jer 17:21–22 as the scriptural source for the same prohibition across a range of ancient Jewish literature from Nehemiah to Jubilees and finally to rabbinic literature. His analysis in this chapter reinforces a major emphasis of this volume: legal interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls “must be situated within the broader context of the interpretation of Israelite scriptures and law in ancient Judaism” (213). By engaging a broader swath of comparative material, Jassen is able to present nuanced discussions of particular legal interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls beyond a simple comparison of one text from this corpus with another Second Temple exemplar.

In chapter 11, the last before the general concluding chapter that I discussed earlier, Jassen explores the use of non-Pentateuchal texts as prooftexts in legal interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As he discussed in the introduction, the approach to non-Pentateuchal text in legal interpretation has been a point of discussion since Solomon Schechter's initial publication of the Damascus Document and the subsequent work of R. H. Charles and Louis Ginzberg (8–11). The debate focuses principally on the degree to which sectarian interpreters employ non-Pentateuchal passages in their interpretations and whether those passages play a “minor and secondary role” in the justification of legal positions (11). In this chapter, Jassen moves significantly beyond this earlier work, which has largely limited its focus to the Damascus Document. He analyzes passages from the Damascus Document (CD 9:2–8, 8–10; 11:18–21; 16:14–15), long-known sectarian texts (1QS 5:16–18), the parallels to those texts (see 4Q256, 258, 266, 267, 270, 271; 5Q12), and sections of the more recently published materials from Cave 4 (4Q159 I ii 13; 4Q513 1–2 i 4; 4Q271 2 2; 4QMMT B 75–82). He argues that while the sectarian literature freely employs non-Pentateuchal texts to support legal points, in no place do we see evidence of a Pentateuchal text functioning as a secondary support to a non-Pentateuchal text. These exempla thus affirm the “relative” authority of Pentateuchal sources in Jewish sectarian legal exegesis from antiquity (246).

Jassen's volume makes a significant contribution to a number of fields in the study of ancient Judaism and provides a model for how to undertake research in the history of Jewish law and in the study of ancient scriptural

interpretation. His concluding chapters gesture helpfully in a number of directions for future work in the field including the contribution that this type of work can make to the discussion of canon formation. One methodological issue, which Jassen did not discuss in the volume and about which I had hoped for more critical reflection, was his use of rabbinic sources in the comparative study of legal interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls. While tannaitic sources such as the Mishnah, the Tosefta or the Halachic Midrashim are certainly temporally and geographically proximate to the Dead Sea Scrolls, I wonder to what degree rabbinic interpretations found in Amoraic works, such as Leviticus Rabbah or the Palestinian Talmud, can be used as comparative material for legal interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls. An area where Jassen's work could also be extended is through deeper engagement with early Christian sources on the Sabbath. For instance, while Jassen helpfully points to a number of New Testament texts throughout his discussion, I was surprised by his omission of any discussion of Jesus's Sabbath instructions in Matt 12:1–14. While this source may not evince significant engagement with the prophetic passages under discussion here, its testimony to legal-exegetical traditions concerning the Sabbath is certainly worthy of discussion. Engagement with this material would deepen and enrich Jassen's sophisticated, multi-faceted, and important contribution to scholarship.

Jonathan KAPLAN

Ken M. Penner, *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Qumran Hebrew Texts* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 64; Leiden: Brill, 2015). Pp. xii + 228. \$44.50. ISBN: 978-90-04-29843-9.

The work under review is a revision of the author's 2006 doctoral dissertation, "Verb Form Semantics in Qumran Hebrew Texts: Tense, Aspect, and Modality between the Bible and the Mishnah," written under the supervision of Eileen M. Schuller at McMaster University. It consists of five chapters, a bibliography, and four indices—author, biblical citation, Dead Sea Scrolls citation, and subject.

The first chapter is a detailed introduction in which Penner states the main question: *do the verbs of Qumran Hebrew (QH) primarily encode tense, aspect, or mood?* Here he deals with theoretical issues related to ancient Hebrew TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood/Modality) systems—especially the definitions of absolute and relative tense, grammatical (as opposed to lexical) aspect, and modality—and reviews scholarly approaches to the respective verbal systems of Biblical Hebrew (BH), QH, and Rabbinic Hebrew (RH). The survey provided is intended to be neither exhaustive nor critical, but serves to demonstrate the multiplicity of views on the ancient Hebrew verbal systems as well as to preview certain theoretical and methodological elements that Penner adopts from previous scholarship. Chapter 2, focusing on methodology, is

divided into two parts, the first a justification of six key decisions that facilitate methodological rigor in Penner's approach: (1) a synchronic rather than diachronic perspective; (2) an empirical rather than theoretical line of argumentation; (3) a sufficiently large, relatively non-fragmentary corpus of diverse genres; (4) a demand for bidirectional rather than just unilateral form-function correlations; (5) mechanisms for identifying form-meaning correlations that help to avoid circular reasoning; and (6) means of limiting the influence of equivocal data. The latter half of chapter 2 demonstrates Penner's application of the method in practice via a 'walk through' of how he tagged verbs to create the database. Chapter 3 is entitled "Analysis and Synthesis;" here, with the help of numerous graphs and charts, the author explains his results, emphasizing high (and low) correlations between form and meaning/function, as well as highlighting factors that seem to be very, moderately, or not at all influential in affecting these correlations. Chapter 4 is an unexpected, but illuminating 'excursus' into how the study's results can be applied to evaluate opposing exegetical conclusions that depend on the interpretation of verbal forms with ambiguous meaning. Finally, the brief chapter 5 provides a summary, a cursory discussion of the ramifications of the study vis-à-vis the currently dominant views on the respective verbal systems in BH and RH, and suggests a few avenues for further study and refinement.

The work has many laudable qualities. Foremost is its commitment to a rigorous statistical evaluation that is as objective as possible, i.e., that aims for reproducible results. The author is to be commended especially for making the theories and methods behind the construction of his database completely transparent and, indeed, for going so far as to make the database available for download online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.1434634>. Admittedly, no study of this sort can achieve complete objectivity (for example, even armed with the strictest of guidelines, the choice between various tense, aspect, and modal tags frequently comes down to subjective interpretation), but the fact that the database can be accessed and manipulated, and the approach utilized for the analysis of other material (whether from Dead Sea Scrolls texts outside the selected corpus or from another phase of Hebrew entirely) increases the value of the study. Additionally, the author's choices in favor of a synchronic, empirical investigation of a sizable but manageable corpus, of bidirectional analysis that tests not just for each form's most common meaning, but for the form most commonly associated with each meaning, of establishing clear parameters for evaluating tense, aspect, and mood, and of producing sets of results, one including and the other excluding questionable forms, are justified and well-supported. His contention that exceptional verbal usages are insufficient to falsify descriptions of standard usage is also a healthy one. Special mention should also be made of Penner's proposed test for arbitrating between encoded meanings vying for prominence (124, 155–156): by seeking out types of clauses in which the functions encoded along the various axes do not correlate strongly with a single form and noting which forms are preferred. Since Penner determines that absolute tense, relative tense, and modality are encoded in QH verbal forms, he focuses on statements conveying past habitual,

future perfect, and posterior past meanings. This seems a promising method for determining the specific nuances language users tend to mark within a system in which forms encode multiple meanings.

Overall the study is well-written and well-argued. The introductory chapter is a very clear presentation of the problem and provides a remarkably comprehensive and up-to-date survey of the major views. It avoids an overly critical tone, emphasizing the contributions of various foregoing studies. Finally—and this point is crucial—notwithstanding certain weaknesses, the book furnishes empirical evidence that contributes to the resolution of a longstanding problem of central importance in the study of ancient Hebrew, most notably in its assertion that QH verbal forms encode tense—both absolute and relative. Penner's conclusions regarding the marking of aspect and modality, on the other hand, while worthy of consideration, are somewhat more problematic.

Based on his statistics, Penner concludes that Qumran verbs do not encode aspect (130, 154, 196). He finds no strong correlation between a specific verbal form and a specific aspect, noting that “both the *qatal* and the *yiqtol* forms are more frequently perfective than non-perfective;” only the active participle is commonly non-perfective (130). Regarding tense and mood, he writes that “[m]odality is more prominent than relative tense...” and that “...we may consider absolute tense more likely to be the prominent parameter than modality, but the data is too meagre to permit confidence” (156). While these conclusions are certainly borne out by Penner's statistics, it is questionable whether the statistics should be relied upon consistently to reflect the three dimensions of tense, aspect, and modality. Put simply, due to certain assumptions on the author's part, it is virtually inevitable that he should arrive at an inflated count of modal forms. This is due not just to the subjectivity inherent in interpreting specific forms (see below), but to a systemic bias built into the methodology, according to which Penner classifies as modal certain values traditionally associated with either tense or aspect. For Penner (following Hatav, Joosten, and others) the category of future, typically considered a tense, and habituais, generics, and proverbials, typically thought of under the rubric of aspect, are by definition modal. Now, it is true that there are (debatable) theoretical-philosophical grounds for such an approach and that these find apparent (but hardly definitive) cross-linguistic support in the fact that many languages economize by using the same forms to convey future tense, habituality/iteration, and various shades of modality. However, in a study committed to empirically-based conclusions, *a priori* acceptance of suppositions with such far-reaching consequences is best avoided. For purposes of the initial classification of verbs for the database, values along the axes of tense, aspect, and mood should have been kept rigorously separate. Only after forms had been tagged according to meaning in context should conclusions based on correlations have been drawn. By subsuming all three of the principal meanings traditionally associated with *yiqtol*—future tense, iterative/habitual aspect, and non-indicative mood—under the modal heading, the author unavoidably skewed conclusions in favor of modality from the outset (happily, though, the issue could be easily remedied by reclassifying all modal cases labeled R, A,

H, and G in the chart on p. 112 as non-modal forms). Whatever the notional attraction of theories that posit the contrary, there seems little reason to pre-judge indicative declarations about the future or about repeated actions to be logical and linguistic impossibilities.

Interpretive subjectivity may also prove more of an issue than the author intended, especially in the area of determining aspectual nuances. Though Penner helpfully clarifies his criteria for distinguishing between perfective and imperfective aspect by means of Reichenbach's notion of "Reference: Event Overlap" (110–111), and though he meticulously marks as questionable all tags that he deems equivocal, so that—again, very helpfully—they can be excluded, if necessary, from the final statistics, the effects of these mechanisms for ensuring objectivity are at least partially cancelled out by questionable analyses of individual verb forms. The author's aspectual tags are not always the most obvious and sometimes appear to conflate the parameters of lexical and grammatical aspect (though, to be sure, lexical aspect is given its own column in the author's database [98]). For example, when Penner comes to determine the Reference Time: Event Time relationship of the imperative *בִּינּוּ* 'understand!' in CD 1:1 (116), he classifies it as I(mperfective), reasoning as follows: "Understanding is normally something that does not end; it is inherently unbounded on the right end of the time line. Therefore the Event extends beyond the reference time; it is imperfective and the E:R overlap should be tagged 'I.'" But this construal is hardly the only one possible and appears to be influenced by the perceived lexical aspect of the Hebrew verb *בִּין*. While lexical aspect, inherent to a verb's semantics, no doubt has some effect on how language users select grammatical aspect, it should not be considered inevitably determinative, as grammatical aspect involves presentational 'packaging' that is in many ways up to the language user. It is true that the event of understanding *can* be conceived of as open-ended, but an *instance* of understanding can just as easily be presented perfectly: 'Suddenly, she understood (i.e., gained understanding)'. Unless the import of the imperative in question is thought to be something along the lines of 'be (regularly) understanding!, be in the habit of understanding!', *בִּינּוּ* is more plausibly understood as perfective—'Understand (once and for all)!—in line with Penner's reading of the surrounding imperatives, or, at the very least, as aspectually undefined. The problem is, if the foregoing example is at all representative of the reasoning that went into distinguishing perfective from imperfective aspect in Penner's RE column, then his conclusions regarding aspect are open to question. Even so, the author is to be commended for tagging so many absolute and relative future forms as perfectives, which demonstrates his (correct!) understanding that future tense and imperfective aspect must be measured along different axes of the multidimensional TAM model.

Further on aspect, though Penner is aware of the difference between continuous and generic depictions of events, he fails to plot both the actual present (e.g., English 'She is reading') and the generic present (e.g., 'She reads') along the same axis (i.e., aspect), which makes it difficult to compare how encoding of the various types of present tense differ among BH, QH, and RH. In the case of dynamic BH verbs the active participle is the default form

for the actual present, whereas the general present is more frequently marked by *yiqtol*. In RH, however, both actual and general present are commonly conveyed using the participle. It would have been useful to know where QH falls in this regard, but Penner's chart on p. 127 has no columns distinguishing actual and generic present.

Finally, while the author's methods and data, made accessible thanks to their aforementioned transparency, promise to prove a valuable resource from which others may draw meaningful conclusions, it is regrettable that he did not draw more of his own. In the closing chapter a stretch of less than five full pages (197–201) is devoted to diachronic comparison of QH with BH and RH. The discussion is useful, but disappointingly brief. Penner's introductory survey of approaches to the verbal systems in BH, QH, and RH depicted radical differences among scholars. It would have been profitable had the author returned to these theories in his conclusion to explain which, if any, line up historically with the results of his own research.

Other minor issues—on pp. 72–73 the comparison involving use of opposing verb forms in poetry and prose is unhelpful, because it contrasts wholly different phenomena—while there is nothing in BH grammar that explains the verbal opposition in poetic passages of this type, the prose usages are readily explainable as reflecting different choices on the 'seams' of the verbal system, where a writer was forced to choose between emphasizing either perfective aspect/relative past tense or absolute future tense, since it was impossible explicitly to mark both; p. 83, fn. 40: the writer claims that a participle is clearly substantive if, among other things, it has a pronominal suffix, but this is incorrect, since the suffix can denote a direct object—cf., e.g., אִישׁ אֶלְיָדָע מְאוּמָה אֶת־הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר־אָנֹכִי עַל־פֶּן אָנֹכִי מְצוּק לַעֲשׂוֹת Deut 24:18 and אִישׁ אֶלְיָדָע מְאוּמָה אֶת־הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר־אָנֹכִי עַל־פֶּן אָנֹכִי מְצוּק לַעֲשׂוֹת 1 Sam 21:3.

Select typographical errors and other notes—p. 19, ln. 10: replace "above" with "below"; p. 19, penultimate ln. of main text: replace "three" with "four"; p. 38, first full para., ln. 12: replace "כשתרה" with "כשתרצה"; p. 82, first full para., ln. 2: replace "השפט" with "השפט"; p. 82, fn. 39, ln. 3: "וְיָקָם" is not incorrect, but it is the rarer pausal form—contextual "וְיָקָם" should also be mentioned; p. 90, ln. 1: replace "Revell's" with "Garr's"; p. 98, fn. 88, lns. 4ff.: there appears to be an image missing, as the description does not tally with the one provided; p. 117, ln. 3: replace "is tagged 'C'" with "is tagged 'S'"; p. 137, lns. 2–3: the Hebrew is garbled and the reference is apparently to CD 13:7–8 (rather than 12:7–8); p. 141, lns. 2–3: the reference is to CD 2:3–4 (rather than 2:34) and the identification of אָהַב as *qatal* is not unambiguous—it may represent defective אָהַב (or, theoretically, a hypothetical stative participle אָהֵב); p. 174, ln. 3: insert space in "לירושאת"; p. 184, last ln. of first full para.: replace "boxes" with "boldface"; in the legend of many of the graphs it is difficult to make out the differences in shading meant to distinguish the columns of the variables measured (it is important to note, however, that this criticism applies only to the print copy of the book that this reviewer received; in Brill's online pdf edition the charts are in color and are clearly readable).

In summary: while it is unfortunate that in such a promising investigation the author missed the chance to make more of a contribution to both the study of ancient Hebrew verbal meaning and cross-linguistic scholarship on the encoding of tense, aspect, and modality, the points of criticism leveled in this review should not be seen fatally to undermine the book's value. The question Penner addresses is of such enormity and complexity, it is no wonder it continues to elude explication by means of a convincing unified theory. Penner's study, however, is a definite step in the right direction—so much so, that it is difficult to overstate the book's significance in terms of both method and results. Penner employs a mainly sound, transparent, and reproducible methodology and contributes an invaluable perspective based on empirical evidence to a fundamental issue in the study of ancient Hebrew, bringing methodological rigor to an area of enquiry where it is rarely found. It is sincerely hoped that his conclusions have an effect on others who engage with the topic. Future investigations of BH, QH, and RH will ignore this important scholarly work to their detriment and to that of the entire field.

Aaron D. HORNSKOHLE

Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Perspective from Mt. Sinai: The Book of Jubilees and Exodus* (Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements 21; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015). Pp. 192. \$49.95 / € 80.00. ISBN 978-3-525-55095-3.

Although VanderKam's critical edition of Jubilees in 1989 generated a slew of publications dedicated to various themes and literary units within the book, the Exodus account has remained relatively neglected up until recently, the first studies devoted to it being published only in 2005. (1) Having dedicated a series of papers to the exegesis of Exodus in the pseudepigraphical book (cf. the bibliography on p. 163), Halpern-Amaru has now published an excellent monograph entitled *The Perspective from Mt. Sinai: The Book of Jubilees and Exodus*, which should become a go-to volume in the field. Discussing all the literary units reworking passages from Exodus in detail, she engages herein in a close reading of the final section of *Jubilees* (chapters 46–50), analysing its biblical background and compositional techniques. She also investigates this pericope within its literary context (i.e., Jubilees as a whole), pointing to the affinities the Exodus account exhibits with other passages in the book,

(1) See, for example, B. Halpern-Amaru, "Burying the Fathers: Exegetical Strategies and Source Traditions in *Jubilees* 46," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, STDJ 58 (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 135–52; J. van Ruiten, "The Birth of Moses in Egypt According to the Book of Jubilees (Jub 47:1–9)," in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen*, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 59 (ed. A. Hilhorst and G. H. van Kooten; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 43–65.

most prominently the Abraham cycle. The abundance of references to contemporary and later Jewish literature adduced by Halpern-Amaru further places Jubilees 46–50 within the wider context of ancient Jewish exegetical traditions.

The volume follows the structure of Jubilees. Chapter 1, which serves as an introduction, also briefly discusses the Mount Sinai episode that opens the book of *Jubilees* and constitutes its overall frame. Chapters 2–4 are dedicated to the narrative of the Exodus (Jubilees 46–48), chapters 5–6 analysing the complex legal material regarding Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Mazzot) in Jubilees 49. Chapters 7–8 discuss Jubilees 50, the final pericope of the work, which is largely devoted to Shabbat laws.

Seeking to give readers access to some of Halpern-Amaru's central insights, the following focuses on chapters 2–6. While this choice precludes relating to the small-scale units and exegetical methods employed in specific verses, I shall address some of these in my concluding remarks.

Looking at Jubilees' representation of the transition from the patriarchal period to Israel's formation as a nation (Jubilees 46), Halpern-Amaru convincingly demonstrates that by reworking the chronological data of the biblical sources (Genesis 50–Exodus 1), omitting Joseph's prediction (Gen 50:24), and inserting extra-biblical additions, the author of Jubilees presents Levi—rather than Joseph—as the principal chain linking the “patriarchal family” and the Israelites. The report of the death of Jacob's sons and Joseph's request to be buried in Canaan constitute the starting point of a legend whose chief protagonist is Levi's descendant, Amram, who buries his kin in Canaan despite the Egyptian-Canaanite war raging in the region (cf. Visions of Amram).

Amram also plays a central role in the following literary unit (Jubilees 47). Herein, Jubilees adapts the biblical source (Exodus 2) in various ways in order to present Moses and his family in a more positive light (see Chapter 3). Amram's embarrassing marriage to his aunt—a prohibited liaison (cf. Lev 18:12, 14)—is omitted in favour of his teaching Moses the art of writing (Jub. 47:9) and Jochebed and Miriam's protection of Moses (Jub. 47:4–8). Halpern-Amaru adduces the affinities these additions exhibit with other units in the book—Miriam's guarding of Moses from the birds, for example, being linked to Abraham's chasing away of the birds who alight on the sacrifice during the covenant between the pieces (Jub. 14:12). As Halpern-Amaru notes in Chapter 4, this covenant is also associated with the Exodus story in Jubilees 48, a concise reworking of Exodus 4–15. Hereby, Jubilees portrays Exodus as the fulfilment of Gen 15:13–14.

Chapter 4 also discusses the way in which the principal section of Jubilees 48—the plagues, deliverance from Egypt, and plundering of the Egyptians—follows a tripartite structure, the first subunit adducing Mastema's actions, the second depicting the redemptive acts engaged in by the angels of the presence, and the conclusion further highlighting the angelic involvement in the salvific act(s).

Chapters 5–6 focus on Jubilees 49, which deals with the festivals of Passover and Mazzot. Surveying the *aqedah* in Jubilees, Halpern-Amaru demonstrates the ways in which it is associated with Passover via the depiction of Isaac as the firstborn and Mazzot by the interweaving of calendrical data. In contrast

to the *aqeda* narrative, in which the two festivals are treated as one, however, Jubilees 49 regards Passover and Mazzot as two separate feasts. Dedicating only a brief passage to the latter (Jub. 49:22–23), Jubilees 49 describes how the Passover was celebrated in Egypt, proceeding to elaborate the sixteen statutes with specific reference to its date.

Here (Chapter 6), Halpern-Amaru suggests that Jubilees refers to specific dates via phrases that, deriving from pentateuchal passages or forming original coinages, signify the fourteenth or fifteenth of the first month. While largely based on Exodus 12–13—into which it interweaves phrases and specifications from other biblical (primarily pentateuchal) passages related to Passover and Mazzot—Jubilees presents this legislation as given to Moses on Mount Sinai.

Despite the contribution the book makes in general, several comments can be made regarding some specifics. Firstly, the fact that Moses' birth in the sixth year of the fourth week during the forty-eighth jubilee (Jub. 47:1) occurs precisely four jubilees following Joseph's birth (Jub. 27:24), this may reflect the "four generations" referred to in Gen 15:16 (for Jubilees' treatment of the 400 years mentioned in the same biblical source, see pp. 39–40). Likewise, while Halpern-Amaru discusses why Moses lived "three weeks of years" with his biological family (pp. 57–59), she makes no note of the fact that Jubilees says he spends precisely the same period of time in the Egyptian palace (Jub. 47:9–10). This may represent a *gezerah shava*, the word יגדל "(when he [Moses] grew up)" marking both the end of Moses' rearing by his biological family and the time he spends in Pharaoh's palace (Exod 2:10–11).

In her discussion of Jubilees 48, Halpern-Amaru correctly points to the centrality of the theme of judgment/revenge within the Exodus story, ascribing this emphasis to the influence of Deuteronomy 32 (pp. 67–68). While the latter possibly lies in the background of Jubilees' reworking, the synonyms judgment (שפטים) and revenge (נקם) are paired in Ezekiel 25, which lies behind Jubilees 48 (cf. Jub. 48:5a with Ezek 25:17). The depiction of the punishment of the Egyptians in terms drawn from the portrayal of God's wrath against the surrounding nations in the prophecy is in accord with Jubilees' strategy in the depiction of the Philistines' and Edomites' fate (24:28–33, 36:9–10).

While Halpern-Amaru correctly notes that Jubilees' reworking of Exodus alludes to Gen 15:13–14 (cf. Jub. 48:8, 18; see pp. 67–68, 81), she does not draw attention to the fact that Jubilees constitutes an early example of an exegetical tradition in this regard, other Second Temple texts similarly incorporating allusions to the covenant between these pieces into their retelling of the event (see 4Q225 1 4; LAB 15:6; cf. *B.J.* 5.9.4 [§382]).

In her discussion of Jubilees' reworking of the account of the Sea of Reeds (pp. 75–76), Halpern-Amaru demonstrates that the author magnifies God's redemptive acts by elaborating on the theme of the drowning of the Egyptians (Jub. 48:14), and by replacing the portrayal of the Israelites marching on dry ground (cf. Exod 14:22, 15:19) with the clause: "The Lord brought them out through the middle of the sea *as if* on dry ground" (Jub. 48:13 [my italics]). While these two alterations in the primary biblical source serve a similar purpose, they are created via two different exegetical techniques. As Halpern-Amaru

points out, the former is a non-biblical tradition. Jubilees' portrayal of the crossing of the sea "as if on dry ground" is drawn from Ps 106:9, however: "He led them through the deep as through a wilderness בְּתֵהוֹמוֹת כַּמְדָּבָר [וַיֹּלִיכֵם]."

Jubilees' selective retelling of Exodus 14—which focuses on the miraculous crossing of the sea and drowning of the Egyptians (see p. 76, n. 45)—also resembles the thematic emphasis found in the concise portrayal of the event in Ps 106:9-12, 136:13-15. In interweaving an account of the Exodus borrowed from a biblical historical résumé into its reworking of the Exodus narration of this event, Jubilees employs a common compositional technique (see 4Q225 1; 4Q422 III; cf. also 1 En. 89:14-15 and Jdt 5:10-12, both of which closely follow the sequence of Deut 26:4-9 while embedding into it wording drawn from the book of Exodus).

Atar LIVNEH